THE

BELGIAN TRAVELLER.

VOL. II.

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THE

BELGIAN TRAVELLER;

OR,

A TOUR

THROUGH

HOLLAND, FRANCE, AND SWITZERLAND,

DURING THE YEARS 1804 AND 1805;

IN

A SERIES OF LETTERS FROM A NOBLEMAN
TO A MINISTER OF STATE.

EDITED BY

The Author of The Revolutionary Plutarch, &c.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

Tel est l'esprit Français, je l'admire et le plains:
Dans son abaissement, quel excés de courage;
La tête sous le joug, les lauriers dans les mains,
Il cherit à la fois la gloire et l'esclavage,
Ses exploits et SA HONTE ont remplis l'univers!!!

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THE

BELGIAN TRAVELLER.

LETTER XXXIII.

Rotterdam, April, 1804.

MY LORD,

I CAN recommend the inn where I lodge, not only for its cheapness, but for its accommodation. I occupy an apartment in the front, facing the Erasmus place, for which I pay a florin a day; for my breakfast half a florin; and when I dine at home, a florin and a half for my din-

ner, including a pint of wine. My ſervant boards and lodges for a mere trifle in a houſe in the neighbourhood, where my landlord has made the agreement for him.

Having ſo many acquaintances, and being ſo often engaged abroad, I dine but rarely at the ordinary of my inn. The rainy weather on the other day prevented me however from accepting the invitation of a friend to his country houſe, and I was not ſorry for it. When I went into the parlour a little before two o'clock, the dinner hour here, ſome of the regular cuſtomers, the French officers, were already there. "Well," ſaid one of them, a major, "great news from Paris; a great conſpiracy diſcovered, and a great emperor propoſed. What do you think of the combined conſpiracy of a French ſpy and of an Engliſh miniſter?" "I think," replied an old officer, "that it

it is worthy to figure among the thoufands of other confpiracies, fabricated fince the revolution; but I cannot fee Buonaparte's object with the great *eclat* he feems to give this abfurdity. What regular government can believe it poffible, that Englifh minifters affociate with a Septembrizer, to procure the affiftance of other Septembrizers to make a king in France? and if fuch an alliance was morally probable, as it is morally and politically impoffible, what intereft can the attempts of confpirators againft the confpirator againft the prerogatives of fovereigns, as well as againft the rights and liberties of the people, infpire to the continental princes, invaded, infulted, and oppreffed by him? Their intereft and fafety demand, that they fhould fooner put on mourning for its failure, than rejoice at its difcovery." "Softly, Sir!" interrupted another officer, "do you

you not fee that it regards more Frenchmen than foreigners, and that it is intended to caufe the murder of the Duke of Enghien to be forgotten or palliated, and to reconcile the people to Buonaparte's future views of ambition and elevation? Do you not fee that this pretended plot of a powerful government againft his petty individual perfon, makes him a perfonage of great confequence, and incorporates (if I may be permitted to ufe the expreffion) the life of the obfcure Corfican adventurer with the exiftence of the power of the great nation? And is it poffible for any man of common fenfe to be miftaken on this fubject, after reading the extorted or purchafed anfwers of the members of the foreign diplomatic corps in France to the communication of the arch intriguer Talleyrand? Thefe foreign diplomatifts fpeak in the name of their

fove-

fovereigns a language which many French prefects would decline to make ufe of. Why do they fo? Becaufe Buonaparte wifhes the French people to believe, that his fupremacy is neceffary, not only for the welfare of France, but for that of Europe."

Here we were interrupted by the arrival of half a dozen of young officers, who called out, "how do you do, fellow fubjects of Buonaparte? What do you now think of liberty and equality, of the rights of man, and of citizens? Here we are now all at once transformed in a day from free citizens of a commonwealth, to the humble fubjects, we do not fay flaves, of an upftart emperor. Well, no harm in it, we have fought for Robefpierre, Barras, and Sieyes, we can therefore reafonably have no objection to ferve under and combat for a Buonaparte. *Vive l'Empereur Napoleone!!!* This

exclamation was followed by a general laugh, by far more fignificant of their real fentiments, than any expreffion of which they had made ufe. They were humiliated and vexed in their fouls to have fo long been the dupes of a vile fet of revolutionary mountebanks, who fometimes led them to carnage in the name of a *facred* equality, and again commanded them to maffacre on the part of a fuperior defpot; who at one time preached to them the tenets of the fovereignty of the people, and foon after proclaimed the duty and obedience to an individual and unlimited fovereign emperor. They faid a great deal, much more than I expected or thought they dared to fay; but their looks, their fneers, their fmiles, their jokes, their agitation, all evinced, that they were afhamed of what had paffed, difcontented with the prefent, and ready for any defperate under-

undertaking, that could leffen their difgrace, or break their fetters.

You may, perhaps, be inclined to fuppofe, that the account I have given of this day's occurrence is exaggerated, if not erroneous; but the inftant the dinner was over I went into my room and wrote down as nearly as poffible the very words that they made ufe of; I have even foftened a part of the difcuffion, well aware, that thofe who are not acquainted with the contradictions and abfurdities of French characters would hardly believe the individual difaffection, and the general obedience; the fubmiffion of French officers and men when affembled in a body, and their difcontent and mutinous fentiments when in feparate parties; collectively they cry out, "*Vive l'Empereur*, but individually they fay, *à bas le Tiran!*

LETTER XXXIV.

Rotterdam, April, 1804.

MY LORD,

THOUGH this republic, with the exception, when the Anglo-Ruffian army had landed in Holland, never was officially declared to be under martial law, yet in many inftances, I may fay in moft inftances, when any Frenchmen have been inculpated, the French military chiefs have feized the authority, either to fcreen culprits from the punifhment due to their crimes, or mitigate the offences and procure the criminals an opportunity to efcape.

Some time ago a moft atrocious murder was committed in the inn, called, "THE KLEINE SKIPPER HUIS," of this city, by the French furgeon Du Hamel.

Hamel. This man happened to meet in the trekſchuit, between Amſterdam and Rotterdam, a Geneva jeweller, who had frequented the different fairs in Holland, and recommended him to lodge in the ſame inn with himſelf. When they arrived, the houſe was full, and only one room, with two beds, was vacant, of which accommodation they accepted.

After ſupper the jeweller went to bed, the ſurgeon remained up, and informed the landlord and the waiters, that he was very ſubject to fits and convulſions, during which he ſometimes called out for aſſiſtance, but as the infirmities ceaſed of themſelves, they need not be alarmed or trouble themſelves, ſhould they hear any noiſe or cries.

About three o'clock in the morning the call out of murder! murder! and the rattle of the watchmen made every

one in the inn get out of his bed, the furgeon Du Hamel was found bleeding from feveral wounds, which he pretended to have received in his ftruggle to defend his life againft the attempt of the Geneva jeweller who had difappeared. He afked for the affiftance of a Dutch furgeon to bind up his wounds, feeming to be very faint from the lofs of blood.

When the Dutch furgeon had been informed of all the incidents, and compared them with the flight wounds of Du Hamel, inflicted with fo much feeming tendernefs, a fufpicion occurred to him, which he communicated to the landlord, of the Frenchman rather being the affaffin than the victim. In this fufpicion he was confirmed, when remarking the great quantity of blood, with which the floor was inundated, and particularly in looking at a large trunk from which the blood

was

was ſtill pouring out through the apertures. Upon his requeſt this trunk was opened, when horrible to relate, the corps of the jeweller was found in it cut to pieces. A magiſtrate was then ſent for, and Du Hamel made a full confeſſion of his guilt.

He ſtated, that ſome very valuable jewels ſhewn him by his fellow traveller in the treckſchuit had tempted him to commit this crime. That when returning to their bed room after ſupper he found the jeweller faſt aſleep; that he went up to his bed, and with a ſingle ſtroke of a ſtiletto diſpatched him without a groan; that he emptied afterwards the large trunk of all its effects, cut the corps of the jeweller to pieces and placed the morſels in it; that done, he inflicted on himſelf ſeveral light wounds, ran down ſtairs, opened the door and called out murder, which made the watchman ſpring his rattle,

and knock at the door; that his intent was, had he eſcaped a diſcovery that night, and if the corps had not bled ſo much, early in the morning to have taken the trunk to the water ſide and thrown it into the river. He had filled the drawers in the room with all the effects and valuables of the jeweller, which he hoped to be enabled to appropriate to himſelf. In conſequence of this confeſſion, which he ſigned, he was committed to priſon by the Dutch magiſtrate.

On the next morning, when this crime was reported to the French commander, he ordered Du Hamel to be removed from the Batavian criminal priſon to the principal French guard-houſe, and to be tried by a French court-martial inſtead of a Dutch tribunal. A long conteſt began on account of this reſolution of the French governor, but it was at laſt agreed that Du

Hamel

Hamel ſhould be tried by a military commiſſion, when he was ſentenced to be ſhot on the following morning.

Du Hamel was a protege of the governor's, who, as ſomebody, to avoid ſcandal, muſt be executed, ordered a Britiſh priſoner, who in attempting to eſcape from confinement had been recaptured and conſidered as a ſpy, to be ſhot, and then had it given out to the people that his corps was that of Du Hamel, who in the mean time returned back to France with a good paſs. This atrocious act would perhaps never have been known, had not Annokee, the landlord of "The Kleine Skipper's Houſe," in a journey to France, met Du Hamel, who then was the firſt ſurgeon of a regiment of horſe, quartered at Liſle. Annokee could hardly believe his eyes, until Du Hamel, with great *ſang froid*, explained to him how he had eſcaped, and who had periſhed

perished in his place. This Du Hamel is at present a surgeon in Buonaparte's household's troops.

A French woman married to a Dutch tallow-chandler, after having some words with her husband, knocked out, in a fit of passion, with a hammer, the brains of their only child, who was the fondling of his father. She had already been sentenced to be hanged by a Dutch tribunal, when the French commander interfered, under pretence that being a French female citizen by birth, the recognition and judgment of her crime appertained to French judges alone. She was by force, and by some French soldiers, taken out of her place of imprisonment, and as it was said carried to Antwerp, there again to be tried. But the fact was, that one of the aids-de-camp of the commander intrigued with her, and no sooner was she arrived

in

in the French territory, than ſhe was ſet at liberty. She is ſaid at preſent to have married a French cuſtom-houſe officer at Antwerp. What I have heard related alſo as a fact is, that a perſon pretending to be her brother, but who, in fact, was her preſent huſband, came here not long ago, and claimed her ſhare in the property of her Dutch huſband, who after ſome reſiſtance, and being menaced with a trip to France, at laſt conſented. This protection granted to crimes by French governors and commanders, has not diminiſhed the number of French criminals in Holland.

LETTER

LETTER XXXV.

Rotterdam, April, 1804.

MY LORD,

THE exchange of this city is far from being crowded, but it is more frequented by real merchants than that of Amfterdam, and, as I have heard, more bufinefs is in proportion alfo done here. This advantage is entirely due to the Englifh connections, which the principal houfes ftill keep up, and which on account of its vicinity, or rather facility of communication with Great Britain, even French reftrictions cannot always impede.

That Buonaparte has refolved upon the ruin of Englifh trade, and wars at prefent more againft Britifh commerce than againft Britifh independence, (well convinced that the latter will perifh with

with the former) would be folly and impertinence to deny; that he alſo takes means, which he conſiders as the moſt efficacious, to effect his purpoſes, is evident, from his numerous prohibitory laws in all States, where his bayonets tyrannife, his councils dictate, or his threats terrify. But the proſperity and even the increaſe of the commerce of Great Britain, diſplay ſtill, to aſtoniſhed Europe, how unavailing have hitherto been thoſe his efforts of ambition, jealouſy, hatred, policy or malevolence. The fault does not, however, always lay with him, not can it be aſcribed to imperfect or haſty ordinances.

The government of Buonaparte is a compoſition of very able and very wicked men, of whom not one can be named, whoſe crimes or immorality are not as notorious as his capacity or talents are conſpicuous. If, when their perſonal

personal interest is not involved, or the temptation of infidelity too great, they serve him faithfully; they also, when opportunity offers and insures them a probability of impunity, are easily corrupted, and never miss any occasion to enrich themselves in betraying their trust.

A respectable merchant here told me, that notwithstanding Buonaparte's severe edicts never were Holland, Italy, Switzerland, and even a great part of France, better supplied with English goods than during the last war. Regular associations of smugglers were established under the very protection of Buonaparte's directors or inspectors of his custom-houses. For an insurance of ten per cent. every thing was delivered as safe as before the revolution. Since the rupture with England last year many of the custom-house officers have been changed, removed or dismissed,

miſſed, but they are too well acquainted in this country with the *morality* of revolutionary Frenchmen, to harbour any anxiety about a total interruption of commercial intercourſe with the Britiſh empire.

On the other day, when I was at the French coffee-houſe, oppoſite the exchange, a well dreſſed man came up to me and took me aſide: "I ſuppoſe," ſaid he, "that you are a merchant, and expect, perhaps, ſome means to get the purchaſes you have made in England, ſafe over to Holland. For twelve per cent. I will inſure their ſafety. I am well known to ſuch and ſuch houſes, (mentioning two of thoſe to which I had been recommended) and the French and Batavian cuſtom-houſe officers are all my friends. I have this very morning landed and houſed two cargoes of goods of Engliſh manufactory; and expect in the courſe of a fort-

fortnight three cargoes more." I thanked him for his offer, of which I ſhould not make any bad uſe, but I told him that I was no merchant. "From ſeeing you ſo often upon the exchange converſing with merchants, I thought you were," ſaid he coldly, "no harm, I hope." He left me, even without requeſting ſecrecy.

When I related to my friend my converſation with this man, and expreſſed my ſurpriſe at his indiſcretion, thus to accoſt a ſtranger; he ſmiled, ſaying, "this fellow knows very well what he is about. Frenchmen of rank, much ſuperior to cuſtom-houſe officers, are connected with him, ſhare with him all profits, and protect him both from incurring danger and loſſes. He was four years ago a common waggoner, and is now thought worth two hundred thouſand florins, gained entirely by his partnerſhip in ſmuggling with pow-

erful

erful Frenchmen here, and at the Hague. But his influence in the contraband line extends to perfons as well as to property. He has fmuggled hundreds of Emigrants back to France, and for a douceur of twenty louis d'ors, will at all times procure you or any one elfe a paffport, which will enable you to travel undifturbed, here as well as in France, Italy, and Switzerland. If you add five louis more, you may choofe the name you wifh to travel under, and the country to which you think it moft prudent to belong.

I have forgotten to tell you, that, except writing down my name, &c. in the police bills of the inn, I had no trouble here with regard to my paffport. I was neither obliged to wait on the French governor, nor dance attendance in a French police office, or at a Batavian muncipality. Inquiring the caufe of fuch difference between Amfter-

Amſterdam and Rotterdam in the department of police, a friend replied, "at the former place the public functionaries are more *ardent* PATRIOTS, an appellation which we here conſider as ſynonymous with that of oppreſſor; becauſe we have experienced, that liberty and ſafety are baniſhed from all cities or towns governed by our modern patriots."

LETTER XXXVI.

Rotterdam, April, 1804.

MY LORD,

EVERY Monday and Saturday are market days here, and the Erafmus place, under my windows, is covered with temporary ftalls, erected early in the morning and taken down late at night. They contain but little finery or any thing elfe, but what is worn by the country people, by failors and foldiers, or ufed to decorate the perfons and dwellings of individuals of both fexes of thefe claffes of fociety. I heard, that before the revolution feveral goldfmiths had alfo their ftalls here, and fold gold and filver trinkets for confiderable fums to the wealthy peafants and their wives, who in this country are fo fond of thefe kind of orna-

ornaments; but on a market day, some time ago, some French soldiers picked a sham quarrel near the stalls of the goldsmiths, and fell fighting with each other, and in the confusion ran against and knocked down these stalls, the contents of which instantly disappeared.

Similar audacity and violence have also much diminished the fashion of wearing gold and silver trinkets. In Friezland, where it extended to the man as well as the master, to the maid as well as the mistress, a brigade of French soldiers surrounded on a Sunday, the church of one of the most populous villages, and under pretence of wanting shoes and stockings, stripped the women of their ornaments and the men of their wearing apparel, in exchange for which they left their own rags. I have been told that the drum-major exchanged his old accoutre-

coutrements for the holiday clothes of the clergyman, and with his countrymen made the moſt grotefque appearance. When complaint was made by the muncipality to the French commander, it was anſwered, that the whole was only a *badinage*, and could be conſidered in no other light.

Another brigade of French ſoldiers happened, in their march towards North Holland, to paſs by a houſe where a rich merchant celebrated the wedding of his daughter, and where all the principal inhabitants were invited and preſent. Pretending that proviſions had not been in a ſufficient quantity prepared for them, they reſolved to put the wedding dinner into requiſition. They placed ſome ſentries round the houſe, both to prevent eſcape and ſuccours, and fifty forced their entrance into the houſe. One of them aſked very civilly the maſter of the houſe and the gueſts to make a patriotic do-

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nation of their repaſt to their ſtarving French brethren, who ſo valiantly combated for their liberty; but the conſternation which their unexpected arrival had occaſioned, preventing the merchant from giving an immediate anſwer, they ſeized at once every thing upon the table or in the kitchen, part of which they threw through the windows to their comrades, who now crowded round the houſe. This ſcene of confuſion and terror made ſeveral of the ladies faint away, and the French marauders firſt politely, under offer of aſſiſtance to ſome, and afterwards in the name of the great nation, as they ſaid, plundered them of their bracelets, necklaces, rings, &c. *en maſſe*. You may ſuppoſe that every thing portable and valuable in the houſe was alſo carried away, not excepting the gentlemen's watches, ſhoe-buckles, and hats, more than the neckcloths, handkerchiefs, and even

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the silk stockings of some of the ladies. Though the merchant dispatched a messenger to the head quarters, and requested satisfaction for the outrage, and punishment of the robbers, no notice whatever was taken of it, and it was laughed at by the French generals merely as another *badinage.*

The patriots at Schiedam celebrated three years ago the day of the revolution with a splendid supper and ball, to which the French commander and several superior French officers were also invited. The party had hardly sat down to table before several hundred French soldiers entered with their swords drawn, and said, *that as the fête was given in honour of liberty and equality,* they insisted upon having their share of the entertainment. When their commander ordered them to withdraw, they replied, that they were ready to obey him on the

the parade, but that here he was not at his poſt. They then laid hold of the ſupper, and when it was devoured, aſked politely the citizens and their ladies to beſtow on them their trinkets, as tokens of gratitude for their civil and decent behaviour. As their requeſt was a command, obedience immediately followed, and the Schiedam patriots went home, not only with empty ſtomachs, but with empty pockets. To prevent their commander, (who was, ſurpriſing to ſay, not in the ſecret, nor ſhared the ſpoils,) from reſenting their conduct, they deputed four of the moſt guilty to the head quarters of the commander in chief, general Augereau, then at the Hague, complained of their ſuperior officer, and petitioned for his removal. As the deputies had prudently carried with them ſome of the ſtolen trinkets, Augereau liſtened to them favourably, the

the commander was removed to Gouda; and the ſoldiers ordered to Brielle. To the memorial of the Schiedam patriots was replied, that General Augereau adviſed them *as a friend*, to bury the whole diſagreeable *fracas* in oblivion. I have not heard, whether the Schiedam patriots have ſince celebrated another fete in honour of French fraternity.

LETTER XXXVII.

Rotterdam, April, 1804.

MY LORD,

OPPOSITE the door of the inn where I lodge, is planted a tree of liberty, decorated not with a bonnet, but with a hat. It is merely a long pole, painted with three colours, though courtesy calls it a tree. A wooden railing encompasses it, and a sentinel is placed by its side. Enquiring the other day of one of the officers who dine at my inn, if the soldier was there to prevent it from running away? he answered, "No Sir! there is no danger of that, and where would it be received, should it take a fancy to escape? The nauseous flavour of its bitter fruit has been felt too much in those wretched countries where it has been

been planted by force, to ſuppoſe that any people would voluntarily accept of its curſed preſence. The ſentry is there to prevent it from being cut down, and burnt, as three other trees have been on the ſame ſpot. The people here are too wiſe, and have ſuffered too much to be amateurs of trees of liberty, or other pedantic emblems of a freedom, entirely baniſhed from the Continent by our friends of liberty."

I have juſt heard that Buonaparte has ſent an order to the government of this republic to have all trees of liberty removed here, as has already been done in France. Were it poſſible that he could repair all the ſufferings endured, and eradicate all the horrors witneſſed ſince revolutionary tyrants firſt planted, and revolutionary ſlaves firſt danced round theſe trees, he would confer greater bleſſings on his con-

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temporaries than any chieftain ever did before.

Thefe trees of liberty have, in the ftates where they have been planted, ferved as points to rally for traitors and confpirators, for impoftors and fools, for fedition and infidelity. At their feet loyalty has bled, and Chriftianity fuffered; in their poifonous fhade cannibals have feafted, and rebels fraternized; anarchy has howled hymns, and profligacy preached licentioufnefs.

Even here in Holland, where lefs lives have been lavifhed than in France and Italy, by revolutionary banditti, innocence has more than once, and for the moft trifling accident, been facrificed, has watered the trees of liberty with its tears, and inundated them with its blood.

At Dort, fome years ago, a young lady, daughter and fifter of officers, who

who had perifhed in the fervice of their country, was walking one day in the ftreet with a favourite lap-dog under her arm. The colour of the animal was white, but round its head were feveral fpots of Orange colour. (You have no doubt read, that fince the reftoration of the Stadtholder to his authority in 1787, cockades of this laft colour were worn by the officers and men both of the army and navy, and by thofe citizens who defired to difplay their attachment to the princes of the Houfe of Orange.) Some fanatics reproached her want of patriotifm in carrying an animal fo coloured, and one of the men fnatched it from her, dafhed it againft the pavement, and killed it on the fpot. In the firft moment of furprife and indignation fhe exclaimed, that one Prince of Orange was preferable to thoufands of patriotic oppreffors, and that fhe would

 willingly

willingly give her life to ſee him again in the authority of his anceſtors. She had not time to ſay more before ſhe was knocked down, and dragged to the tree of liberty, where, after enduring for a quarter of an hour outrages of every deſcription, a friend of hers, who was unable to deliver her, aſked a French ſoldier for humanity ſake to diſpatch her, which he did. What made her fate ſo much the more lamentable, was her engagement to marry a young gentleman on the Sunday following; and ſhe had been, when ſtopped by the rabble, to her mantua-maker to ſee how far her wedding dreſs was advanced. Her lover, who reſided at ſome miles diſtance, was the ſame afternoon informed of his loſs, and arrived at Dort, accompanied by ſome friends, who with difficulty prevented him from laying violent hands on himſelf. He carried away the mu-

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tilated remains of his beloved miſtreſs, and buried them in the vault of his family, near his country houſe. His friends remained with him for a fortnight; but the day after they left him he entered unperceived the vault, and blew out his brains by the ſide of the coffin of his miſtreſs.

Several Dutch citizens, who had before the revolution been officers in the ſervice of the Prince of Orange, have alſo been ſhot as emigrants at the feet of Batavian trees of liberty. It muſt however be added, that their accuſers, judges, and executioners, were all Frenchmen.

LETTER XXXVIII.

Rotterdam, May, 1804.

MY LORD,

THE Dutch capitalifts are fo well acquainted with the rapacity as well as with the cruelty of their foreign mafters, that they contrive all poffible means to conceal their wealth, and to have it placed out of the reach of the banditti, that furround them. Moft of them have diminifhed their expences, and give out the reduction of their circumftances as the caufe. Some have difpofed of their property in this country, and bought eftates in Flanders, Brabant and France, being lefs oppreffed as fubjects than as allies of Buonaparte. Several have emigrated to America, or eftablifhed themfelves in Germany, Denmark or England; but

but all, more or leſs, have remitted their capitals to their correſpondents in London, to be laid out in the purchaſe of Engliſh ſtocks. As, however, the French Government may inſpect their ledgers, or the Britiſh Government ſtop the remittances of intereſt, they have contrived to be naturalized in other neutral States, and by it to protect their money tranſactions under neutral colours.

I dined in company here with a rich Dutch merchant of the name of Oſy, who has retired from buſineſs himſelf, but whoſe ſon, formerly an Auſtrian Conſul here, has two houſes, one at Hamburgh and one here. The old Oſy, when the French invaded this republic, thought it prudent to emigrate, and went in 1794 to Bremen, carrying with him all his capital, and leaving nothing behind him but an eſtate, a league diſtant from this city.

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Having made himſelf a burgher of Bremen, he ſent over to England a part of his money under that title. The winter of 1795 he paſſed at Hamburgh, where he alſo as well as at Altona, procured himſelf burgher right, and remitted as ſuch again, more of his property to Great Britain. I have heard that he alſo has ſince been naturalized at Embdem, as a Pruſſian ſubject, and has bought a houſe at Antwerp to become a French citizen. Theſe meaſures of prudence, to which many other Batavian citizens have alſo been forced to reſort, prove the want of ſecurity to property, and the danger to which it is expoſed, and will continue to be expoſed, as long as revolutionary governments in France exiſt; they are, and will always, whatever appellation their chief uſurps, be revered and looked to by anarchiſts, fans-

ſans-culottes and other non-proprietors, as their natural patrons.

I have ſeveral times with grief remarked, that the inveteracy of the French and Batavian nations is reciprocal; the former oppreſs and plunder the latter, becauſe they hate and deſpiſe them; while want of means to fall with ſucceſs upon their foreign intruders, prevents the latter from attempting to throw off the yoke of the former. On all occaſions theſe ſentiments evince themſelves. I was ſpeaking the other day with an aide-de-camp of one of the French generals of the many taxes, laid upon the Dutch; of their approaching miſery, and of the probability of the time not being remote, when they would be unable to contribute any more to the ſupport of their French allies. "As to their taxes," interrupted he, "they are not taxed enough yet, nor can they be

be ſo miſerable as their contemptible characters deſerve; but as long as we do not ſee any ducats in circulation, their ruin cannot be ſo near as you ſeem to apprehend." I remarked to him that ducats were not the current coins of the country, but bought and ſold as all other merchandiſe, and every body had a right to accept or refuſe them when offered. I aſked him whether he had been in Holland, previous to the revolution, or whether, during his preſent reſidence, he had been travelling much in the Batavian republic? Without knowing this country formerly and ſeeing its preſent ſituation, it is impoſſible ſaid I, to judge either what the people can ſupport or what they ſuffer. A ſtate like France, of extenſive and fertile territories, is not ſo eaſily ruined, as a country that draws but little from its ſoil, but depends upon every thing from its trade

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and induſtry; when theſe are deſtroyed, it may for ſome time ſubſiſt upon its paſt ſavings, but its advancement towards a national bankruptcy, though imperceptible, is not the leſs inevitable. I have, continued I, with ſome warmth, ſeen Holland ten years ago, and therefore cannot but lament as a man, as a human being, its preſent wretchedneſs. I will defy any traveller to mention a people in Europe ſuffering ſo much, from complicated diſtreſs, as the middling and lower claſſes of this republic. Cities, towns, villages, and high roads ſwarm with beggars—ſuch diſguſting beggars, that they almoſt appear hideous to poverty itſelf. And theſe naked and wandering ſkeletons are not thus reduced by their own fault, by their own indolence, or by their own want of induſtry, but from the doleful effects of the diſorganiſed ſtate of the civiliſed ſociety

fociety of our days. Should Buonaparte command his troops to evacuate Holland and refpect its independence; permit it to regulate, by and for itfelf, its commercial and political tranfactions, within twelve months a beggar will no more be found in this republic. In 1794 not a fingle Batavian citizen fubfifted by public alms, or by begging. — "You are prejudiced — much prejudiced in favor of the natives of this country;" called out the aide-de-camp; "could but France, with a fingle blow, annihilate their whole race, it would be a bleffing to Europe. They are a difgrace to the human fpecies." Alas! Poor Holland!!!

LETTER

LETTER XXXIX.

Rotterdam, May, 1804.

MY LORD,

I HAVE been for ſome days in the country at a friend's houſe, where I met with an intereſting victim of tenderneſs and of compaſſion.

Citizen Van R—, a rich brewer, diſtinguiſhed himſelf always for his oppoſition againſt the Stadtholder's government, for his partiality to France, and for his hatred againſt England. Obſerving in 1794, that his only child, a daughter, ſeemed much attached to a Britiſh officer of the guards, he ſent her to a convent in Brabant. She had not been in this retreat many months, before the French were maſters of the country; no retreat was ſacred to them, no innocence reſpected, and no virtue revered.

revered. The vows of all religious persons were dissolved, and all youth destined to a recluse or religious life, was set at liberty, seduced or debauched.

Miss Van R— had the good fortune to possess in the abbess of the convent, not only a governess, but a friend. Seeing the dangers that menaced her pupil, from the language and threats of a vile soldiery, the abbess never lost sight of her, and though by the movements of the armies, all correspondence with Holland was intercepted, she was resolved to deliver her back into the arms of her parent, as pure and innocent as she entered the convent. After many difficulties and great hazards, she arrived at last in January, 1795, at the house of her young friend's father, who received his child with all the affection of a good parent.

Citizen

Citizen Van R— had been four years a-widower, and was therefore not ſorry, to ſee ſuch a well educated lady as the abbeſs, the companion of his child. He made her all kind of offers to fix her in his houſe, not only as the guide of his Maria, but as the ſuperintendant of his domeſtic concerns. But being diſintereſted as well as delicate, ſhe declined all his offers, and accepted of nothing; ſhe promiſed, however, not to leave his houſe before his daughter was ſettled.

Among the many French ſansculotte officers, then attached to the republican army, citizen Van R— had formed acquaintance with a lieutenant-colonel Darüe, who profeſſed the ſame political ſentiments with himſelf, but who was as immoral as he was inſinuating.

Darüe, the firſt time he was in company with Miſs Van R—, was particularly attentive to her, and immedi-

diately

diately requefted her father's permiffion to pay his addreffes to her, which he eafily obtained. But remarking that his affiduities and attentions, did not much advance him in her affections, he began to fufpect, that her friend the abbefs was not favourable to his views and therefore complained to citizen Van R— of an improper influence exercifed over his daughter, by her friend.

When Van R— had given Darüe leave to be a fuitor of his daughter, he had alfo told him that he would never force her to form any ties, which were repugnant to her feelings or inclination; but he had alfo expreffed to her his defire to have Darüe for his fon-in-law, and that fhe would oblige him if her choice fixed this officer for her hufband.

I have mentioned before that the abbefs was more her friend than her governefs,

governeſs, and poſſeſſed all her confidence; of this, her father was well aware, and therefore deſired a private interview with that lady. He enquired of her what objections his daughter could have againſt Darüe? None that I know of, anſwered the abbeſs, but her heart is previouſly engaged to the Engliſh Captain C——, ſhe has ſworn him an eternal conſtancy, and I doubt much whether ſhe ever will be able to break it. But replied the father in a rage, Captain C—— is an Engliſhman, ſhe knows that I hate the Engliſh; and he is beſides near forty, while Darüe is only thirty. I ſhall have a converſation with her. I do not intend to oblige her to marry Darüe, but never with my conſent ſhall ſhe give her hand to a Britiſh ſubject. The abbeſs aſſured him, that his daughter was too dutiful a child ever to form any alliance, not approved by her

her father; that ſhe rather would die a maid, than incur his diſpleaſure.

Chance would have it, that Captain C—— was among the Britiſh priſoners in Holland, and had heard of the return of his miſtreſs from Brabant. He found means to inform her, that he was on his parole at Breda, and requeſted if poſſible, an interview. This ſhe declined, but a correſpondence was kept up between them, until late in the ſpring, when the captain had been exchanged, and ſurpriſed her with a viſit before he returned to England.

That they were happy at ſeeing each other, after an abſence of ſix months, cannot ſurpriſe; but their happineſs was of ſhort duration. Darüe had watched all her movements, and all thoſe whom ſhe received; he was therefore enabled to inform her father of the arrival of the Britiſh officer, and

of

of his viſit to Miſs Van R—. This intelligence offended her father ſo much the more, as he thought, that ſhe had added duplicity to want of duty; and finding her *tête à tête* with her lover, he ſpared neither, but abuſed both; he ordered Captain C—— immediately to leave the houſe, and never to enter it more, if he did not wiſh to be inſulted.

Captain C—— replied, that his views were honourable, and that his affection alone for the daughter prevented him from reſenting the abuſes of the father; but ſure of her love and ſincerity, he would go back to his country until a peace, when he hoped that citizen Van R—'s prejudice would be removed, and no obſtacles any longer be oppoſed to their mutual happineſs; after ſpeaking thus, and without waiting for an anſwer, he withdrew.

Darüe, hearing of his rival's ſucceſs and aſſurance, did every thing in his power to ſet the father againſt the child, and by repeated inſinuations, and indirect attacks on his vanity and *patriotiſm*, obtained at laſt his promiſe of being united with his daughter.

One morning, when poor Maria was kiſſing ſome lines from her lover, her father's ſervant told her that ſhe was wanted in the ſitting room. There ſhe found him with Darüe by his ſide. He ſaid, that by commanding her to conſider Darüe as her huſband, he did not violate what he had promiſed her before, but merely retaliated, as ſhe had without his knowledge and contrary to her duty, kept up a correſpondence, and had interviews with Captain C——. To-morrow, therefore, Maria, you are to be the wife of citizen Darüe.

At firſt ſhe was thunderſtruck with this

this ſudden and unexpected command, and could not ſpeak a word; but at laſt a flood of tears reſtored her voice, and ſhe applied equally to the tenderneſs of her father, and to the generoſity of Darüe, not to be made wretched for life. Darüe bowed, and ſaid nothing; but Van R— replied, that his determination was fixed, and that he remained inflexible. After ſo ſaying, they both quitted the room, where the abbeſs found poor Maria after ſhe had fainted away.

The abbeſs had, in the afternoon, ſome converſation with Van R—, during which ſhe repreſented to him, that his daughter's marriage with Darüe, would either deprive her of her reaſon or of her life, and requeſted at leaſt ſome days delay; but he told her that every thing was finally arranged; Maria was to be married on the next morning, and on the evening ſet out for France, with

with her hufband, whofe regiment was ordered to La Vendee. Even the wifh of the abbefs to accompany her young friend, was not affented to.

Eight months afterwards, citizen Van R— received a letter from a Dutch officer, of the Batavian legion, in the French fervice, then at Nantes, announcing to him, that his daughter was fhut up in a mad houfe, after being deferted by Darüe, who had already a former wife and four children. He defired him to come himfelf, or to fend fome confidential perfon, as his child was not only expofed to ill-treatment but to want. The unfortunate parent, attended by the abbefs, in three weeks afterwards arrived at Nantes, but Maria knew neither of them. From the agitation his mind, and perhaps reproaches of his confcience, Van R— was feized with a brain fever, and expired raving two days after his arrival.

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The charge of Maria, then, according to her father's will, devolved on the abbeſs, who in ſome weeks, carried her to Paris. There the beſt poſſible advice was received and followed; and though ſhe was not perfectly cured, ſhe at intervals ſo much recovered her reaſon, as to know again her friends, and to be at liberty without either danger to herſelf or to ſociety.

Maria now reſides with the abbeſs in a houſe in the country, not diſtant from this city. Her principal occupation is to write letters to Captain C——, to apologize for her marriage with Darüe; to apologize for her father, for having forced her to ſuch an union, and to aſk him always to remember her as an affectionate friend, but never to think of her as a miſtreſs. The abbeſs, from whom I heard what I have narrated in this letter, informed me that Darüe had been killed in *La*

 Vendée,

Vendée, and that Captain C—— was now married, and had retired from the ſervice. She put a bundle of Maria's letters in my hands. It is impoſſible to peruſe them, without feeling abhorrence for the villain who was the cauſe of her troubles, and without ſincerely pitying this victim of filial duty and French treachery.

Maria is only in her twenty-eighth year; her countenance is handſome and pleaſing, melancholy, but intereſting. During the three days I was in her company, ſhe only attempted to ſmile once, and then her countenance was wild, trembling and ſhocking. The gloom and torpor of her ſoul ſeem to be ſo fixed, ſo naturalized, that, I am ſure, many efforts to break through the cloud, would either make her raving or kill her. She is now ſeemingly calm, and generally ſilent, except when ſhe can meet with

ſome

fome perfon, whom fhe judges will liften with complaifance to her mournful tale. I heard it over twice, and fhe began it a third time, when, on recollecting herfelf, fhe faid, good God! how forgetful I am, and how kind you are. Have I not told you every thing before, and neverthelefs you have patience to be attentive, and fhow yourfelf commiferating. May heaven reward you, and may you meet with a girl as faithful, but more fortunate, than poor Maria Van R—.

LETTER XL.

Hague, May, 1804.

MY LORD,

I ARRIVED here in the midſt of the fair time, which is the carnival of the Hollanders. All thoſe who like gaiety, or are fond of ſhows, who have money to ſpend, fine clothes to exhibit, or beauty to boaſt of, aſſemble and parade about here, ſtare, and are ſtared at; and, after having for ſome days wandered round the ſame circle of idleneſs and diſſipation, return home, probably diſſatisfied with themſelves, leaving behind them not only their money, but often their virtue, innocence and health.

It is an ancient cuſtom among the people of this republic to form what they call fair parties. Whole families, and

and frequently whole villages, ſet out at the ſame time. They communicate to each other what ſums they intend to ſpend, how much is requiſite to purchaſe neceſſaries, or what is ſaved to be ſquandered in finery. Thoſe parties whoſe local ſituations do not allow them to arrive in their painted and gaudy waggons, hire veſſels or whole trekſchuits to themſelves, where they always are noiſy, ſinging, and often entertained by wandering fidlers, or muſic grinders, whom they hire for this occaſion. All are decked out in their holiday clothes, and ornamented with their moſt valuable trinkets. The middling and lower claſſes bring their proviſions with them, lodge and eat in meſs in their boats, veſſels, or in ſome petty public houſes. Thoſe of the higher ranks fill all the principal inns, provided they have no relations or friends to whoſe houſes they are in-

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vited, and who in their turn, revifit them during the fairs of their places of refidence or vicinity.

Since I faw the laft Hague fair, it has loft much of its *native* crowd, and foreigners from Germany, and principally from France and Flanders, have taken their place both among the buyers and fellers. Nearly one half of the ftalls at the prefent fair are occupied by German, French, and Flemifh fhopkeepers, merchants, jewellers, goldfmiths, puppet fhows, paftry cooks, rope dancers, milliners, mountebanks, fortune tellers, diftillers, quacks, dealers in liquors, and in drugs, &c.

The Dutch are generally an economical as well as a regular people; but as they feldom give much time to pleafure, when they refolve on any caroufals or entertainments, they never confider the expence, and catch at every thing within their reach. Thefe fo-

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reign adventurers collect therefore large fums of money, and lay another indirect contribution on the modern citizens of this republic, entirely unknown to their forefathers, it being feverely prohibited formerly to expofe any allurements to delude or encourage to extravagance, and it required many formalities before the magiftrates fuffered foreigners thus to intrude themfelves, even when they were real tradefmen and honeft dealers.

Befides the foreigners eftablifhed in the fair, one party of German, and two parties of French ftrolling players give daily reprefentations on their theatre, and fome pretended French artifts, of Theatre Feydeau at Paris, have their concerts every night. Here are alfo Panoramas of London, Paris, Rome, and St. Peterfburgh, with invifible girls, and vifible fhades, ghofts

and devils. A conjurer of the name of Martin from Paris, permits you for a florin to call from their celeſtial or infernal habitations any departed friends or acquaintances, to ſee them and converſe with them as when alive, to queſtion them about the affairs of this world, and to receive their anſwers concerning their occupations in another, but you cannot touch them. I have not been curious enough to ſpare half an hour to receive conviction how far the above promiſes of his handbills are falſe or exaggerated.

Of fortune-tellers, two are ſettled in the fair; and a third, an oppoſition one, more wiſe to penetrate into futurity, or at leaſt dearer for her predictions, occupies an elegant ſuit of apartments in a private houſe. To the two former no more is paid than a Dutch ſkilling, (ſix-pence,) but a dol-

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lar is the price of the third, who, I am told, has numerous viſitors of faſhion of both ſexes. Her renown increaſes, while her humble rivals ſeem to be deſerted by all their cuſtomers. She is ſaid to have revealed to the wife of one of the Batavian directors a ſecret, known to nobody but her deceaſed mother; and to have foretold the Batavian Admiral Verheul, not only future grandeur, but informed him of the contents of diſpatches he had juſt received from Buonaparte, and not ſhown to any body. At Amſterdam where ſhe regularly reſides, ſhe is ſaid to be often conſulted by under-writers and inſurers, before they ſign any policies for inſuring ſhips againſt tempeſts, and dwellings againſt fire. Her trade is therefore ſo profitable, that ſhe is enabled to keep her carriage and ſervants, and to diſtribute

bute large ſums among the poor, to whom her charity extends ſo far as even to tell their fortunes gratis. She is a Flemiſh woman, ſuppoſed to be about thirty.

Young perſons of both ſexes, who meditate on entering into a matrimonial ſtate, are among her regular cuſtomers; and ſhe is ſaid to have advanced the intereſts of more than one lover, and to have made more than one miſtreſs happy. That ſhe is inacceſſible to bribes is poſitively aſſerted, though the hiſtory of one match, which her predictions determined, induces me to believe, that ſhe is not entirely diſintereſted.

A Dutch heireſs, daughter of a late merchant at Amſterdam, was courted by ſeveral of her own countrymen, and by a Frenchman, a clerk in the counting-houſe of one of her relations.

tions. She was much inclined to bestow her hand on a Batavian naval officer; but according to the advice of an old maiden aunt, she went previously to consult the Flemish prophetess. This woman, after delineating correctly the portraits of all the lady's suitors, and giving the characters of some, said, that the officer was worthy of her, if she desired shortly to be a widow, as his fate was to be drowned before the end of the year; but the lover destined to make you perfectly fortunate, will meet you just when you are returning to your house, show you a letter about business, sigh, but never utter a word about love. If you do not marry either him or the Batavian officer, you will with a third and brutal husband experience all the misery but never know the comforts of matrimony.

Rumouring in her own mind the predictions of the prophetess, she was just entering her house, when the Frenchman presented her a letter from her relative, concerning some money transactions. In this coincidence she thought that she read her fate, and within a week she was the wife of the Frenchman, who his disappointed rivals say had previously settled every thing with the prophetess, and who, after his marriage, under pretence of making her a present of one thousand ducats for procuring him such an amiable partner, only paid by this sum what was her due according to agreement. It is singular enough that, as she had foretold, the Batavian officer was some few months afterwards drowned in the Texel.

I give you this anecdote as I received it. My narrator was a fair Dutch la-

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dy who had much confidence in this prophetefs, whom I dare fay, fhe had more than once confulted. Even in this *enlightened* age you fee that impofition and credulity go hand in hand, and that the dupes are more numerous than the deceivers.

LETTER XLI.

Hague, May, 1804.

MY LORD,

THOUGH the executions of criminals occur oftener now than formerly in the Batavian commonwealth, they are relatively few, when compared with thoſe of other countries. The uſage here to execute during the fair time all thoſe ſentenced to capital puniſhments, is judicious, wiſe and political. It is a ſalutary warning to the number of adventurers and vagabonds aſſembled here during that period, and when the temptations of diſſipation allure ſo powerfully to vice and even induce to the perpetration of crimes.

Except perſons condemned for ſtate crimes, who are beheaded, hanging is

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here the mode of puniſhing capitally. A temporary gallows, much higher than thoſe I have ſeen in any other country, is erected, and the criminal, uſually blind-folded, aſcends with the executioner on a double ladder with the halter round his neck; when at the top of the ladder the halter is faſtened to a hook, and the criminal puſhed off and launched into eternity. No more than one is executed at the ſame inſtant; the others, if any, paſs their time at the foot of the ladder, in prayers, &c. until their turns come.

The ſufferers during this fair amounted to ſix; two Flemiſh, one German, one Dutchman, one Iriſhman and one Frenchman. Of theſe, the German and Iriſhman were aſſaſſins; the others were robbers or houſebreakers. It is generally the cuſtom to diſpatch the moſt repentant firſt and the moſt obdurate laſt. All the criminals ſeemed reſigned

figned and repentant except the Frenchman, who fcandalifed every body by his obduracy. While the others were praying, he was either whiftling revolutionary tunes or finging the moft profligate fongs. The Dutchman was the fifth executed, and inftead of difplaying firmnefs as thofe who had preceded him, fainted away feveral times on the ladder, and was almoft carried to its top by the hangman. During all that time, the Frenchman was curfing him for delaying his journey, as he faid, and reproached even Jack Ketch for his Dutch phlegm. At laft, ordered to mount the ladder in his turn, he kicked down the prieft, who always admonifhed him to repent, refufed to be blind-folded, and when on the top of the ladder, juft as he was going to be launched, he fpit in the Dutchman's face, and d—d him for his cowardice.

The Dutchman who thus perished, was a rich farmer, that left behind him above one hundred thousand florins in property. Avarice was his chief passion, and though he was fond of the sex, he had never married, from fear having of any children with his wife. On a Sunday when at church, some persons had entered his house, and carried away two sacks of one thousand florins each, concealed in his bed-room. This loss preyed much upon his mind, and made him very melancholy. One of his servant-girls, who pitied his situation, endeavoured to console him; encouraged, with, what he thought, her advances, he attempted to seduce her, and to succeed promised her marriage.

When in their first intimacy, he told her that he could never be happy until he had recovered his loss, and that he knew one of his neighbours had just received

received the ſame ſum on inheritance from a brother. To prove her affection, he therefore deſired her, when on the Sunday following he retook from his neighbour his loſt money, ſhe ſhould watch in ſuch a manner that nobody ſurpriſed him. She obeyed his wiſhes, but when in conſequence of her connection with him, ſhe found herſelf pregnant, and ſhe requeſted him to fulfil his promiſe of marrying her, he not only abſolutely refuſed, but turned her out of his houſe. This treatment occaſioned a miſcarriage, which was followed by a fever. When told that her end approached ſhe ſent for a clergyman, (the ſame that attended the Dutchman to the ſcaffold, and made known the crimes of her ſeducer as well as her own culpability. She ſhortly after expired.

The clergyman informed the magiſtrates of what his conſcience and duty

did not permit him to keep ſecret. The former was taken up, tried and condemned notwithſtanding his denial, the ſacks, with the marks of his neighbour, bearing evidence againſt him. When in that unfortunate ſtate, ſome perſons offered to carry him away from priſon and ſave his life, if he would advance of his property five thouſand florins. This he refuſed, but offered five hundred florins. Two days before his execution a French officer called upon him and promiſed his releaſe upon his aſſigning half of his wealth to his deliverers; but he continued obſtinate, declaring that he was determined to expire a rich man, whether in his bed, or on the gallows. On the morning of his puniſhment, he ſent, however, to the officer, and aſſented to his former demand, but then it was too late. From what I witneſſed of the laſt moments of this man I ſuppoſe that death is

is more terrible to avarice than to any other vice or paſſion, tormenting us feeble mortals.

Expreſſing to a Dutchman my ſurpriſe at ſeeing a Frenchman executed for robbery, in a country, where Frenchmen were the maſters, and where ſo many French murderers had eſcaped with impunity, he ſaid: "Softly, Sir! this criminal was a fool, he robbed a commiſſary, one of his own countrymen. Had he robbed and even aſſaſſinated a Dutchman, his impunity would have been certain."

LETTER

LETTER XLII.

Hague, May, 1804.

MY LORD,

THE French ambaſſador here, M. de Simonville, has been exceedingly civil to me, not only in deſiring me to think myſelf as domeſticated with him, but by introducing me to all the other members of the foreign diplomatic corps, as well as to the directorial ſovereigns of the United States.

It is aſtoniſhing how pliable French revolutioniſts are, and how eaſily they renounce and forget their former principles and their paſt profeſſions. You cannot but remember this ſame de Simonville, (whom the revolution found an indebted and profligate counſeller

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of parliament,) as one of the moſt violent panegyriſts of the rights of man, and of all the horrors that ſignalized the French revolution from its dawn. He was firſt employed by the jacobin *propaganda* as an obſcure emiſſary, but afterwards in an official capacity by jacobin miniſters, to ſtir up rebellion in Italy. Even Robeſpierre's committee of public ſafety, appointed him an ambaſſador to the Ottoman Porte; but his progreſs towards the Eaſt was impeded by Auſtrian huſſars, who arreſted him, captured the ſpoils of French monarchy, with which he was entruſted to bribe the miniſters of a Turkiſh ſultan, to enter into the views of plunder and aggrandiſement of French regicides.

He was one of the priſoners exchanged in December 1795, by the Emperor of Germany for his couſin,

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the Princeſs Royal of France, and continued to worſhip a *ſacred equality* until Buonaparte, after his uſurpation, nominated him a repreſentative in the Batavian republic. Here he has conducted himſelf with much prudence, moderation, and liberality, and is liked by all parties, by the governed as well as by the government. But he is now, as ardent an admirer of Buonaparte's military deſpotiſm, as he was formerly of La Fayette's ſacred inſurrection, of Condorcet's atheiſm, of Briſſot's republicaniſm, of Marat's ſans culottiſm, and of Robeſpierre's equality and guillotine.

I had yeſterday a curious converſation with him. He began with telling me that from our former acquaintance, and from my country being near ten years incorporated with France, he conſidered me as an old friend, and

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not as a new French citizen, and as he esteemed me, he would speak with me frankly and without disguise.

"Since I knew you first in 1788," said he, "men and things are much changed. *We other men of talents* were then, insulted and despised, by an ignorant and despicable sort of beings, that frequented the antichambers and surrounded the court of Versailles. These insignificant personages have now finished their career; they are either emigrated or dead. Some of them are still, indeed, the confidential servants of the Bourbons; but how well the house of Bourbon has been served by these presumptuous and vile intriguers, its exile and its proscription prove. We were all, in the beginning of the revolution, more or less duped by sophistry, or struck with the chimera of liberty and equality. All those phantoms

toms of illusions have now disappeared. We are now from theory and from practice persuaded, that as some men possess genius, while others are fools; some are well informed, while others have hardly common sense; so it is totally impracticable and impossible, to produce the same degree of prosperity to civilised society, from the government of ideots or fanatics, as from the sovereignty of wisdom and *liberality.* I have meditated on the constitutional monarchy under Louis XVI. but it carried with it, the democratical seeds of destruction, and of course it perished. The federal republic of Brissot must always have been torn to pieces by faction, and anarchy, its natural offsprings. Robespierre's republic of equality, was founded upon the guillotine, must be supported by the guillotine, and could not survive the terror

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inſpired by the guillotine. The directorial conſtitution, a medley of monarchical pageantry and republican ſans culottiſm, could gratify the views, pleaſe the vanity, or ſatisfy the ambition of no party, and therefore its march was impeded by all; by the royaliſt as well as by the republican, by the democrate, as well as by the demagogue.

" Buonaparte's conſulate, though more powerful and leſs expoſed to the viciſſitudes of factions and of revolutionary innovators, had ſtill to combat prejudices and fanaticiſm, vengeance and crime. But the emperor of the French, in piercing the crowd, has but few parents to enrich, few favourites to advance, no partiſans to prefer, and therefore unbiaſſed, promotes merit, and recompences talents, whether diſcovered among the lofty ariſtocrates,

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or among the creeping and cunning democrates. He is the man fixed by deftiny to finifh the revolution. He is young and fortunate, and poffeffes all the qualities to be hailed a deliverer in troublefome times."

"But," interrupted I, "what are Buonaparte's claims to fupremacy? fome few fortunate campaigns, confidered in the eyes of military men lefs, much lefs brilliant than thofe of a Pichegru and Moreau. Thefe generals are befides accufed of no crimes, while it is proved that Buonaparte drowned his wounded men in Italy, poifoned them in Syria, fold Auftrian prifoners on the other fide of the Alps, and maffacred difarmed Turkifh prifoners, on this fide of Jaffa."

"All thofe reproaches, all thofe accufations," replied M. de Simonville, "may be true, falfe or exaggerated, but

but neverthelefs, France has not for these fourteen years paft, enjoyed fo much tranquillity, as fince Buonaparte affumed the reins of government. What are the lives of fome thoufands of individuals, when put into the balance with the happinefs of millions of nations?"

"In the prefent æra," faid I, "fome crimes more or lefs, are counted for merely trifles, or nothing; but it will not be the fame with a virtuous, unprejudiced pofterity. It will fay; the affaffin, if ever fo elevated, or ever fo profperous, is a criminal, and deferves death; and the fubject, who ufurps the throne of his fovereign, if ever fo eminent, is but a rebel, and ought to expire like a traitor. Powerful," continued I, "as Buonaparte is, would it not have been more glorious for him to be the fecond than the firft perfon in France;

France; to have recalled Louis XVIII, and said to him, I found the inheritance of your anceſtors, tormented by anarchy and devoured by factions; I have baniſhed the one, and diſſolved the others; I might have reigned as a ſovereign, I am contented to be the firſt of ſubjects. If ſuch, ſaid I, had been Buonaparte's conduct, his origin, his atrocities, his drowning in Italy, ſhooting at Toulon, cannonading at Paris, poiſoning and maſſacring in Syria, his murder of Enghien and Pichegru, though they never would have been forgiven, might have been palliated; it might then have been ſaid, that he became criminal only to preſerve his contemporaries from ſtill greater crimes, from ſtill more enormous evils. Then the name of Napoleon Buonaparte, ſtained as it is with the blood of innocence, might not have

 inſpired

inſpired horrors to future generations. Pity, or even admiration, would then have extenuated his abominations, becauſe they would have ſeen in the perpetrator only the miſled reſtorer of his legitimate ſovereign."

"I ſee," ſaid M. de Simonville, "that you are always the ſame indefatigable defender of hereditary rank, as you were ſixteen years ago. But you muſt agree in one thing, that if Buonaparte is not a truly great man, he is the moſt extraordinary and fortunate being, that has appeared upon our globe for fourteen centuries. Where do you read in hiſtory of an obſcure individual, who within nine years has by merit, fortune, plots or crimes, raiſed himſelf from an inſignificant ſubject, to an unlimited monarch? Laying aſide all juſt, vulgar, or illiberal prejudices, Napoleon the Firſt certainly

centainly aſtoniſhes, and may in ſome certuries hence, be conſidered as one of theſe fabulous beings, of whom one reads with ſurpriſe, but of whoſe exiſtence one is inclined to doubt."

LETTER XLIII.

Hague, May, 1804.

MY LORD,

AMONG the members of the foreign diplomatic corps here, the Ruſſian ambaſſador, Count de Stackelberg, and the Swediſh ambaſſador, Count de Lowenhjelm, are certainly the moſt enlightened and moſt reſpectable. The former, though not figuring before in the diplomatic career, has from his youth evinced thoſe talents that conſtitute a ſtateſman, and thoſe principles which announce a patriot. The latter has grown old in diplomatic miſſions. He was the repreſentative of his king to Frederic the Great, when this prince expired; and though ſome of his negociations with Frederic

William

William II. did not give the ſatisfaction which he deſired, he left Berlin neither diſgraced nor diſhonoured. The difference about the abbey of Quidlinburgh did not deprive him of the confidence of his ſovereign, who firſt ſent him to Hamburgh, and afterwards to Holland, where during the moſt difficult periods he has ſerved monarchy without offending the conductors of rebellion.

Both here as well as at Paris, Talleyrand has his male and female emiſſaries and agents. I have been told of a certain Madame de M——, who pretends to be a widow of a guillotined general, and is here by turns aſſociated with commercial ſmugglers, and with political intriguers, but always ſeen in the anti-chamber of the Batavian directors, or in the cloſets of foreign agents. This lady was however not ſo great

great a perſonage fifteen years ago, when in the boxes of the theatres of the Vaudeville at Paris, ſhe offered her perſon to any amateur whom ſhe ſuppoſed had a louis d'or to ſpare, or only a crown piece to ſpend. She afterwards went with the late Baron de M—— to the Eaſt Indies, where he propoſed to put fire to that corner of the world; but in bathing he found his tomb in the belly of a ſhark, and Madame de M——, as ſhe then called herſelf, was fortunate enough to be received as governeſs of the children of a rich planter at the Iſle of France. Her *morality* ſoon however produced a divorce between the huſband and the wife, and while the ſons wiſhed to follow their mother, the daughters would not leave their father and their governeſs. But here again an unexpected death obliged her to ſeek another refuge.

fuge. The planter died of an apoplexy, and an American captain accepted of her as an amanuenſis, and arrived with her at the Cape. There he was happy to reſign her charms and perſon to a Britiſh officer, who brought her with him to England as a French emigrant lady; the widow of Baron de M——, a general under Louis XVI. Her tale made but indifferent impreſſions in London, there ſhe could never be either admitted into the preſence of the French princes, nor into the ſociety of the French nobleſſe. She was not even able to obtain a penſion from the Engliſh government, though ſtrongly recommended by her lover, and by ſeveral emigrant amateurs, who were almoſt willing to make an affidavit, that ſo much beauty and ſo much intelligence muſt characteriſe a true royaliſt excluſively. Offended and

and difappointed, fhe went over to Hamburgh, where new adventures were waiting for her. A rich and of courfe refpectable merchant, a Mr. B——, married to a lovely woman, by whom he had four children, fell in love with her, when he faw her for the firft time in the boxes of the French theatre. He took for her a houfe at Altona, and fettled upon her an annuity of three thoufand marks, 300l.; with him fhe lived until a certain infamous difeafe convinced him that he was not the only fharer of her favours. He then wanted to recover a part of his fquandered wealth, but in vain. The houfe and the annuity were both difpofed of, and with what ready money fhe obtained for them from a Hamburgh Jew, fhe returned to France. There fome of her former female acquaintances, who had become women

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of fashion, introduced her to Citizen Talleyrand. After some *private* conferences with him, she was first sent on a mission to Vienna, where she was expelled, and afterwards to Berlin, where she was caressed. Her business in this place is not exactly known, but she is suspected to be Buonaparte's and Talleyrand's spy both on the Batavian government and on the foreign ministers accredited to it.

I heard all these particulars from a foreign ambassador, who though well acquainted with her *morality*, continues to frequent, receive, and feast her, as if she really were the Baroness de M——. When I warned him to be on his guard, he said, "after what I have told you of this female intriguer, you must suppose me weak indeed were I either to become her dupe, or suffer as her victim. On the contrary she is service-

ferviceable to me without knowing it, becaufe I am too cunning for her." His Excellency muft excufe my difference of opinion and want of faith on this fubject, until I have read her private correfpondence with his Excellency M. Talleyrand.

LETTER XLIV.

Hague, May, 1804.

MY LORD,

THE twelve Batavian Directors, (called here the twelve revolutionary Apostles, and the twelve Stadtholders) all keep open house, and invite all foreigners introduced to them by their respective ambassadors. Though the temporary president of the Directory is looked to as the only one of them, who officially is to do the honors of the Republic, all the others have their regular parties, give their regular dinners, and their ladies have their regular circles, their regular tea parties, and their regular balls. The Batavian ministers also send official cards of invitations, in a manner, that a well known foreigner is never at a loss how

to

to amuſe himſelf, and muſt find his ſtay here very agreeable.

The manner of living here, though not more ſplendid than at Amſterdam, in the houſes of rich merchants, is much more formal, and has ſome little and indirect taint of court etiquette. You are expected to come in full dreſs, with a ſword and a bag; a kind of maſter of ceremonies meets you, and introduces you for the firſt time, and you ſee the Directors and their ladies, ſurrounded, not by valets, properly called, but by half-chamberlains and half-pages, half-ladies in waiting and half-maids of honor; and every thing indicates that they wait only a permit from the court of the Thuilleries to beſtow real titles on thoſe that perform the real offices of the court-*valetaille*. I fear, however, with ſome reaſon, that if Buonaparte intends to organiſe courtly pomp, courtly ſovereignty, and courtly

courtly fervitude, in this place, it will not take place until he has collected into a folio volume the prefent duodecimo volumes of the Directory. His pride will not any longer permit fuch an extenfive and numerous fraternity, particularly with individuals, whom he confiders in no other light, and even defpifes, as merely Batavian fhop-keepers.

Of the Batavian Directors, only two, Citizen Brantfen and Bicker, (the laft a brother of Bicker, the partner of the houfe Laregnere, Bicker, and Vander Meulen, at Rotterdam) are in fome favour with Buonaparte, who more than once has expreffed himfelf that of all the citizens of the Batavian commonwealth, only five were worthy of his notice. Befides the above Directors it is believed here that Admiral Verheul, the Secretary of State Vander Goes, and the Ambaffador Schimmelpenninck, poffefs his good opinion.

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His discontent with the majority of the Directors originates from many causes. During the last peace they did not evince obedience enough, nor since the present war vigour enough; that is to say, they proved themselves patriotic enough to endeavour, during the former period, to repair, by salutary commercial laws, past commercial losses, and during the latter have been courageous enough to resist those dictates of France, which, if obeyed, would have produced the ruin of Holland. In peace they traded with England, contrary to Buonaparte's command, as before the revolution, and during the present contest, into which they were forced against their interest and inclination, they offered to act as allies of the French government to the full extent of existing treaties, but refused to espouse the unbecoming passions of its chief; to act like generous foes

ties, but not uſe the weapons of calumny, of abuſe, of inſult, againſt a nation they were unable to attack in any other way.

This honorable ſpirit of the Directory, Buonaparte calls the ſpirit of ſhopkeepers, "*a vile race he has ſworn to exterminate*," as I heard one of his generals expreſs himſelf. He accuſes alſo ſeveral of the Directors as being ſecret friends of Great Britain, to be ſecret protectors of Britiſh trade with Holland, and to be ſecret inſurers againſt the conſequences of their own public and prohibitory laws againſt all commercial intercourſe with the Britiſh empire. But all theſe accuſations are as abſurd as unfounded. None of the preſent Directors have been engaged in trade, and all are citizens of large property, or of a comfortable independence; moſt of them have been brought up for the bar, ſome have ſerved

ferved in the army or navy, but none of them were ever educated for commercial purfuits. Of this truth, Talleyrand, at leaft, muft have been informed by his fpies, who alfo could have told him, that what capitals fome of the Directors, previoufly to their prefent elevation, had in the Englifh funds, were withdrawn as foon as it was evident there would be a rupture between France and Great Britain; an unjuft reproach more than once made then, and even repeated in the French newfpapers. Befides has not Talleyrand himfelf, with fome of the members of the Buonaparte family, and many of Buonaparte's generals and public functionaries, large capitals placed in England under fictitious names? and can it be more criminal in Batavian citizens, than in Buonaparte's fubjects, to lay out their money in a manner they think fafeft and moft ad-

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vantageous? But when revolutionary rulers are bent upon chicanery, they are never over delicate as to the means of which they make uſe to injure the reputations and characters of thoſe they hate or wiſh to remove or proſcribe.

Though I do not approve of the general conduct of the Directory, nor of the individual behaviour of ſome of the Directors, yet I muſt do them the juſtice to ſay, that they are all well intentioned, and have the honor of their country and the welfare of their fellow citizens at heart. But their ſituation is always delicate, and often very critical. They are not only in duty bound to ſerve their country to the utmoſt of their abilities, but in doing ſo, they are to be very attentive not to give offence, nor hurt the pride, vanity, or intereſt of a capricious and revengeful ally. With the beſt will in the

world, they have not always the means and the power, at the fame time, to preferve their countrymen from oppreffion and to pleafe Buonaparte.

I have written on this fubject more than I at firft intended; but hearing the frequent complaints and even threats of our ambaffador, De Simonville, and reading in public journals illiberal and unjuft attacks on the prefent government of this country, I thought it not amifs to furnifh you with fome remarks made on the fpot, and from which, if approved of, you may draw your conclufions at your eafe in your cabinet.

LETTER

LETTER XLV.

Hague, June, 1804.

MY LORD,

THE official aſſumption of imperial rank by Buonaparte, has been officially announced by his ambaſſador in delivering his new credentials. The diſplay of oſtentation and ſhow on this occaſion, though commanded at Paris, excited here very different ſenſations from what was expected in France. It diſpleaſed the partizans of the Houſe of Orange, and alarmed and offended the patriotic faction of Anti-Orangiſts. The former murmured in ſilence, but the latter exclaimed loudly, that it was intended as a direct inſult on their avowed principles of republicaniſm and equality, and an indi-

rect hint that the day was not very diſtant when hereditary ſovereignty and its pageantry would in Holland make all friends of liberty regret even the government of a Stadtholder. I heard on the parade even ſome Batavian officers make uſe of much ſtronger expreſſions, curſing the fickleneſs, duplicity, and treachery of the French nation, as well as the outrageous ambition of its upſtart Emperor. But all this diſcontent, all theſe regrets and diſappointments, though they prove the ſpirit of the parties, avail nothing, and do not for an inſtant ſtop Buonaparte's march, (I fear), towards univerſal ſovereignty on the continent.

I dined this day at a banker's, Citizen Molliere's, where ſeveral ſtaunch and ardent patriots were of the party. They were entirely caſt down, ſighed more than they ſpoke. They ſeemed

to

to be aſhamed of having been ſo long the dupes of French artifices, and of the arts of ſome French adherents and penſioners in this country, who, under the maſk of patriotiſm, miſled and betrayed. They now ſaw too late, that all theſe noiſy orators, all theſe over-zealous friends of liberty, (when liberty was in no danger,) all theſe great defenders of the rights of the people, (never menaced,) were the baſe inſtruments employed by the ſworn enemies of their country, and of the freedom of mankind to enſlave, plunder, and oppreſs. I wiſh that the diſſatisfied of other ſtates whom intriguers torment, and traitors ſeduce, had witneſſed what I ſaw, and liſtened to what I heard on this day, they would have been convinced that the maſk of patriotiſm is oftener aſſumed than true patriotiſm diſplayed; and that more than once it

is ſeized by the ſpy, by the emiſſary, by the ſlave, and by the tyrant.

What will become of our unfortunate country half a century hence? exclaimed with a ſigh one citizen of the party. Will it like Venice be a province of a deſpotic monarchy, or like Geneva form a department of a revolutionary empire? Are our children and grand-children to be the ſubjects of the Houſe of Brandenburgh, or the ſlaves of the Buonaparte dynaſty? Will not even in our days the Batavian Commonwealth be eraſed, like Poland, from among independent ſtates of Europe? My friend, interrupted another citizen, we ſhall not, I think, have the misfortune to live long enough to ſee that Holland exiſt no more; but we ſhall endure what is worſe, the miſery of witneſſing its long agony before it expires, ſuffer from its dying convul-

convulſions, and in the ſorrow of our hearts even wiſh for an exit inevitable from the cruel circumſtances of our times, and to prevent which no remedy is to be found. Our colonies in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies muſt prolong this agony, until either France gets a ſuperior navy, or Engliſh perſeverance and power reduces France within her former limits. In the former caſe we ſhall be Frenchmen, and in the latter caſe Pruſſians, becauſe without the aſſiſtance of Pruſſia the continent can never be delivered from the French yoke, and without Holland, as an indemnity for its ſuccour, Pruſſia will never unite againſt France. Had we ten years ago ſacrificed a tenth part of that wealth to ſupport the Stadtholder, which ſince has been extorted from us to enrich foreign oppreſſors; had we been unanimous in our obedience to a

government, under which our forefathers and our country had profpered for ages, we would not at prefent have to mourn the lofs of liberty, of independence, of trade, of profperity, and of all the other bleffings, the remembrance of which is alone fufficient to rend the very heart of every truly patriotic bofom.

I have but imperfectly delineated the fentiments expreffed by thefe Batavian patriots. But this tardy *amend honourable* deferves a place, not only in a letter, but in the pages of hiftory. Generally the patriots of our days are as incorrigible as inconfiftent. He who admired once Mirabeau and La Fayette, does not think it a difgrace to have fince been an admirer of Briffot, Marat, Robefpierre, Tallien, Rewbel, Merlin, and Barras, and even now to be an unbafhful partizan of Buonaparte;

parte; though each of thefe chiefs of faction have acted upon, and profeffed principles diametrically oppofite, and all more or lefs have encroached upon the rights and the liberties of their contemporaries, until the prefent revolutionary ruler has given the death blow both to the prerogatives of fovereigns, and to the privileges and freedom of fubjects.

LETTER XLVI.

Hague, June, 1804.

MY LORD,

I HAVE been this morning to take a ride with a foreign ambaſſador in the beautiful wood of this neighbourhood, where, before the revolution, the Prince of Orange had a country reſidence. In this houſe where formerly counſellors debated, ambaſſadors negociated, intriguers plotted, deputies remonſtrated, and courtiers bowed, coffee is now ſold, wine bought, liquors ordered, and tobacco ſmoked. It is transformed into a coffee-houſe, kept by a man who after ſome bankruptcies, found himſelf rich enough to purchaſe this property of his Prince, and to be debaſed enough to pollute this habitation of ſo many great men, of

of ſo many valiant warriors and able plenipotentiaries.

We were joined during our ride by a lady about twenty-five, handſome in her perſon, and agreeable in her converſation. She was followed by two ſervants on horſeback, and an officer in French regimentals rode by her ſide. I remarked that my friend was not much pleaſed with this company, and therefore propoſed to him to return home, where I ſaid buſineſs called me.

"I am always unfortunate," ſaid he, when we were alone, "to be purſued by this fury. She haunts all my ſteps, and watches all my movements, notwithſtanding that I more than once have been under the neceſſity of ſhowing her, that her aſſiduities were troubleſome." Few people, interrupted I, would be ſo difficult, or of your opinion. The lady has a moſt charming countenance, and from the little ſhe

ſaid, I judge ſhe does not want natural parts. Is ſhe alſo a political intriguer, or only a *gallant* adventurer? "She is neither," replied my friend, "but ſhe is worſe than both the one or the other. Being ſo well known, and ſo juſtly ſhunned here, it is ſurprizing that ſhe ſtill continues to reſide here. Though her face and her countenance beſpeak tenderneſs and ſenſibility, her heart is equally cruel and unfeeling. She has, young as ſhe is, already aſſaſſinated, or cauſed to periſh, ſix individuals."

Upon further enquiry, I heard concerning her what follows. Her father was Marquis de T——, and ſhe was born in Champaign. During Robeſpierre's reign her parents were guillotined, and ſhe was left an orphan at the age of fourteen. When two years afterwards her parents' property was reſtored to her, ſeveral of her neigh-

bours

bours paid their addreſſes to her, but they were all ſoon diſguſted by her coquetry. Among them were two brothers, the Marquis and Chevalier de C——n; but as they experienced ſimilar treatment, and obſerved a ſimilar conduct that drove away all her other ſuitors, they alſo relinquiſhed the purſuit, and the Chevalier in a ſhort time married a poor but amiable woman, who made him perfectly happy. Whether ſhe really had an affection for him, or that her pride was hurt by the ſudden preference he gave to another, ſhe reſolved to revenge herſelf upon his wife. To be enabled without incurring ſuſpicion to live with her upon an intimate footing, ſhe married the Marquis de C——n, for whom ſhe previouſly had declared a moſt decided averſion.

Within twelve months after the marriage the wife of the Chevalier was delivered

livered of twins; but when almoſt re-covered from her accouchement, ſhe expired ſuddenly in convulſions, and the Marchioneſs took care to remove the Chevalier out of the way until his wife was buried. It is ſaid, that ſhe about this time declared to him her paſſion, but did not meet with that encouragement ſhe expected. Not re-buked however, ſhe reſolved to break another barrier, which ſhe thought kept the Chevalier at a diſtance. Her huſband died as ſuddenly when ſhe was on a viſit to a friend, and probably in the ſame manner as her ſiſter-in-law. On her return home ſhe ordered him to be buried immediately without any farther enquiry.

Being now free from all engage-ments, ſhe wrote to the Chevalier, in-viting him with his children to her houſe. Though he had no ſuſpicion of her atrocities, he accepted, as he

wrote

wrote to a friend, with great reluctance her invitation; he would even have declined it, had not his poverty and the interests of his children got the better of all other considerations. At first she seemed to have forgotten her former sentiments on his account, but at last she offered him her hand and fortune as soon as decency permitted it. Again his circumstances and his children forced him to new sacrifices; and their union was fixed, and every thing settled according to his wishes. His children by his first marriage were assured annuities in case he should have any by his second wife; but otherwise the whole fortune of the Marchioness was to devolve on them.

The Marchioness had in the mean time taken and fitted out at Paris an extensive hotel, where she asked the Chevalier to accompany her. She proposed to have their wedding cele-brated

brated there, as ſhe ſaid. The real motive however for leaving the country was, ſhe being apprehenſive that the crime ſhe meditated againſt the children of the Chevalier might occaſion more ſuſpicion there than in the capital.

She knew too well the human heart, and was too attentive to what ſhe ſuppoſed to paſs in that of the Chevalier, not to ſee that his profeſſions of reciprocal affection were forced, and not natural. Of this ſhe did not doubt, but ſhe miſtook the cauſe and the object, in ſuſpecting that all his tenderneſs was concentrated in his children, and that without them he might return her own ſentiments more warmly and more ſincerely.

Before they ſet out for Paris ſhe perſuaded the Chevalier to put the children out to a nurſe near that city, a ſiſter of her favourite maid, where, from the liberal manner in which ſhe agreed

agreed to pay for them, they would be taken better care of than any where elfe. The day was already fixed for their marriage, and great preparations had been made to celebrate it with fplendour, when a meffenger arrived with the doleful news, that during a momentary abfence of their nurfe, the children had eaten a cake of arfenic prepared for rats, and had expired in fome few hours afterwards.

The object of the Marchionefs in having the children murdered before her marriage, was to fee whether their death would make any alteration in the cold affection of their father for her; fhe had determined that in cafe, after fome months elapfed, he always continued the fame, fhe fhould punifh him for his want of fenfibility and of gratitude.

The untimely end of his children brought on the Chevalier a lingering

difeafe,

diseafe, which both obliged his marriage to be deferred, and, according to the advice of the faculty, a journey into the country. When there the Marchionefs continued his conftant attendant and indefatigable nurfe. She remarked however that her prefence was not only not agreeable, but often not defirable. After fome weeks diffimulation on both fides, the Chevalier at laft told her, that he did not think himfelf worthy of her perfon, as he was afraid of not making her fo happy as fhe merited. The loffes of a wife, of children, and of a brother, had made his life almoft infupportable, and that therefore he had refolved in a week to join the army of Condé, and in the ranks of the brave and loyal find an end to all his mifery.

The Marchionefs made no objections to the diffolution of an agreement which fhe more than once had faid

confti-

conſtituted the felicity of her life. On the contrary, ſhe entered into it ſeemingly with much ardour. She fitted him out for his journey in a manner worthy of her rank, and honourable to her friendſhip. She even procured him from a banker at Paris a letter of credit for a ſum depoſited by her, and much exceeding his moſt ſanguine expectations of ſubſiſtence and ſupport in a foreign country. Theſe acts of kindneſs the Chevalier acknowledged with a gratitude that perhaps revived the Marchioneſs' former affection, and haſtened his death.

The day before his departure, after he had bid adieu to all their neighbours, the Marchioneſs deſired to paſs the evening alone with himſelf, and therefore ordered both herſelf to be denied to every one, and upon any enquiries after the Chevalier to anſwer that he had already departed. What after

after dinner their converſation was is not known, but in ſeeming to careſs him ſhe ſtabbed him through the heart with a ſtiletto, ſtopped the wound with tinder, and when dark, and after the other ſervants were retired to bed, with the aſſiſtance of her maid buried his corps in the garden. On the next morning it was given out that the Chevalier, to avoid bidding farewell, had left the houſe and began his journey before any body was up.

Whether this ſtory was not believed, or ſome other ſuſpicious circumſtances had appeared, the juſtice of peace of the canton, upon a rumour that the Chevalier had been murdered, made a domiciliary viſit. After a long and ineffectual ſearch, the barking and ſcratching of a dog in the garden, diſcovered the ſpot, where the corps had been depoſited. As it could not have been carried there by a ſingle perſon,

all

all the male ſervants were carried to priſon, and the miſtreſs and the female ſervants were put in a ſtate of arreſt in the houſe.

The maid who had aſſiſted her miſtreſs in burying the Chevalier, was a young woman, whom the Marchioneſs had by threats and bribes made a perpetrator of moſt if not all her atrocities. She had adminiſtered the poiſon to the wife of the Chevalier, to the Marquis, and to the two infants, and ſhe was not yet twenty.

During the interrogatories of the ſervants nothing appeared either to excite ſuſpicion or to inculpate their miſtreſs; but the contradictory anſwers of the maid, cauſed her to be impriſoned in the country jail. There ſhe was viſited by the Marchioneſs, who told her to avow herſelf the aſſaſſin of the Chevalier, and of having alone interred him, and to declare at the

the ſame time, that an attack on her virtue had forced her to become an aſſaſſin. She was promiſed, if following the advice of her miſtreſs, both impunity even if ſhe was condemned, and a penſion for the remainder of her days.

Having acknowledged her crime, but unable to prove the neceſſity of ſelf-defence, the criminal tribunal ſentenced her to be guillotined. In France it is a notorious fact ſince the revolution, that nearly as many guilty have eſcaped the puniſhment due to their violation of the laws, as innocent perſons have ſuffered from the efficacy of protection from the ſame laws of their country. The maid was therefore not terrified by the ſentence pronounced againſt her. She had her miſtreſs's promiſe, and knew her means, in that corrupted country, to ſet her at liberty. In her priſon ſhe was however

ever attended by a clergyman, but even his exhortations to confefs and to repent, were ineffectual until the morning fixed for her execution. Then fhe avowed all her own enormities, and the fhare which her miftrefs had in them; fhe perifhed refigned, but in accufing the Marchionefs of the caufe of her untimely end.

The confeffion of the maid, which had been figned by her, and the atteftation of the clergyman, occafioned a mandate of arreft to be iffued againft the Marchionefs, who was tried, but for want of fufficient evidence againft her, was acquitted. She then fold her property, placed her money in foreign funds, and arrived here, where fhe had the adroitnefs to procure herfelf to be introduced into the firft focieties. But a young confcript of her department happened to be quartered here, and

and publiſhed the reaſon of her voluntary exile from France, which was confirmed by a printed *procés verbal*, which, after I had written the above, I have peruſed, and find it, upon the whole, correſponding with my narrative.

LETTER

LETTER XLVII.

Hague, June, 1804.

MY LORD,

I DO not think that in the Batavian republic is a better inn, than that in which I lodge here, called "The Marechal of Turenne." I pay exactly the ſame price for every thing here as at Rotterdam, but I am more comfortably lodged, and more ſumptuouſly entertained. At dinner the *Table d'Hote* is always ſerved with three courſes, and at ſupper two, with an excellent deſſert and wine. The maſter and waiters of this houſe alſo ſpeak, beſides Dutch, Engliſh, French, German and Italian. They are all exceedingly civil and attentive, keep the rooms clean, aired and free from that diſagreeable ſmell ſo common in Hol-

 land,

, from the ſtanding waters of ...nals, and from the naſty cuſtom of tobacco ſmoking.

The official dinners given here by the miniſters of State reſemble thoſe of other miniſterial entertainments of all other countries. Vander-Goes, the miniſter of the foreign department, does however the honors of his table with more grace than could be expected from a citizen, deſtined by nature to every thing but to confer, negociate and tranſact buſineſs, with diplomatiſts and ſtateſmen. He is nevertheleſs far from being a man of contemptible parts and learning; he is well acquainted with the real and relative intereſts and policy of his country, but he knows alſo, that were he to act according to his knowledge, Buonaparte and Talleyrand would ſoon remove him from an office, which he holds only during their good pleaſure. As he probably thinks,

that

that to be paid and reſpected as an influencing miniſter, is preferable to be applauded as an obſcure and diſintereſted patriot; to keep his place he courts Buonaparte as much as the Directors, and never loſes ſight of France in ſerving Holland.

The miniſter of the war department here, citizen G. S. Pyman, has the pretenſions of being conſidered as a Batavian Berthier. Always buſy, always active, always meditating, deliberating and ſcheming, he is a miniſterial *perpetuum mobile*, though even while viſiting fortreſſes or inſpecting armies on the coaſt, he continues in his native *ſtatu quo;* in his original nullity; he expoſes not only his own vanity, but alſo his own ignorance and inſufficiency. Under a Stadtholder he could never have obtained any rank above that of a commiſſary of war.

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The ſecretary general of the Directory, C. G. Hulhman, though a novice in the corps of diplomacy, has diſplayed talents during his miſſion to the Court of Berlin, and during his negociation concerning the indemnities due to the Prince of Orange, which would not have diſgraced a diplomatic veteran; a little more patriotiſm, and a little more remembrance of his being a Batavian citizen, before the Batavian republic was ſubjugated by France, would make him endeavour to be more proud to ſerve the government of his country, than of poſſeſſing the confidence of the government of France.

Beſides theſe miniſters, the Directory is aſſiſted by three different councils of ſtate, or rather, by three ſections of our councils of ſtate. Citizens Van Rooyen, H. C. Aeneoe, and G. J. Jacobſon are members of the marine ſection; J. de Cruyff, J. F. Leymans, and

and J. H. Vander Palm are members of the fection of the interior; and J. A. de Vos Van Steenwyk, P. L. Van de Cafteele, J. H. Appelius, and H. L. Wickers of the fection of finances. All thefe citizens are men of approved talents, and it does honour to their patriotifm to undertake, in prefent difficult times, the hopelefs, and, I apprehend, unavailing tafk to retard the ruin of their country. Citizen J. A. de Vos Van Steenwyk is alfo the treafurer of the republic, a kind of chancellor of exchequer; he is a man of property and of probity, and has in the moft difinterefted manner facrificed domeftic comfort to public utility.

I dined once at the houfe of the Director Van Hoogftraten, in company with the Batavian Admiral Verheul. I never faw a more impertinent upftart officer, nor a more intolerable military gafconader. A mafter of a merchant

 fhip

ſhip before the revolution, he was afterwards made a lieutentant in the Batavian navy; as ſuch, under pretence of being an adherent of the Prince of Orange, he emigrated to England; intrigued there for employment, and when not ſucceſsful returned to Holland as a perſecuted patriot; gave in projects of invaſion of Great Britain, ſpoke of its eaſy conqueſt, boaſted of his connections in the Britiſh navy, and predicted the deſtruction of the tyrants of the ſeas. The voice of his declamations reached Buonaparte, whoſe favourite paſſion they flattered. He was promoted to an aide-de-camp, and to a commander of a diviſion of that flotilla deſtined to invade Great Britain. He has lately been driven into Oſtend by Britiſh cruziers, and while his gun-boats and praams are repairing their damages, he has arrived here to pride himſelf upon his

his negative victory, to intrigue for advancement, and to denounce vengance against the audacious islanders who dare to resist the mandates and armadas of the great Sovereign of the Great Nation. An officer, under whom he served six years ago, says that he does not want courage, nor practical information, but that he is equally destitute of liberal sentiments and of a liberal education, of morals and of manners.

LETTER

LETTER XLVIII.

Dordrecht, June, 1804.

MY LORD,

I AM now ſo far on my return to France, where I hope to be before to morrow evening. I lodge here in a hotel juſtly called *Belle Vüe;* from the windows of which is an extenſive view, not only over the different branches of the river Meuſe, but over a country ſeveral leagues diſtant. During the firſt twenty-four hours a traveller does not want amuſement if in this inn, and at this time of the year. Though foreign ſhips that ſail by are but few, the Dutch country ſhips and barges are numerous, and land carriages between Antwerp and Rotterdam and Amſterdam paſs by

ſeveral

ſeveral times in the day, beſides poſt chaiſes and private equipages.

As I took a walk on the quay for a quarter of an hour laſt night after my arrival, I heard ſome fiddles playing and ſome Dutchmen jumping, and inquiring what occaſioned theſe rejoicings, was told, that ſeveral houſes round were muſicoes, where ſeafaring men and ſoldiers were diverting themſelves. Curioſity made me look into two of theſe republican ſtate-brothels; but obſcenity and vulgarity of the loweſt degree ſoon forced me to retire. Theſe muſicoes are permitted in moſt cities and towns in Holland, but no where, did I hear, that, like at Amſterdam, fathers carried their children, huſbands their wives, and brothers their ſiſters, to theſe abodes of vice and proſtitution *for improvement.*

Several refugees from Zealand are ſettled here ſince the preſent war.

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One of them, who had been a capital merchant at Middleburgh, aſſured me, that the miſery I had deplored, was comparatively proſperity to the ſufferings of the inhabitants of that iſland, which within twelve months has by emigration and diſeaſes, the conſequences of wants, loſt one third of its population.

When Buonaparte reſolved upon the invaſion of England, he fixed upon Fluſhing as one of the places for aſſembling all his veſſels deſtined for the expedition, which were built on the banks of the Rhine and the Meuſe, or in the harbours of the Batavian republic. To defend them againſt the attacks of Britiſh cruziers, the fortifications of Fluſhing were ordered to be extended, and to extend them it was neceſſary to pull down fifty-two houſes in the vicinity. The owners of theſe houſes received only forty-eight hours

hours notice to remove their furniture, goods, &c. and to provide themſelves with other dwellings. This firſt act of military deſpotiſm occaſioned much diſtreſs, and reduced many induſtrious families to beggary. No compenſation was given for loſſes, but a promiſe held out, which is yet to be fulfilled, that according to a fair valuation every thing would be paid.

Fluſhing was alſo at the ſame time declared in a ſtate of ſiege, and imitating the example of his maſter in France, the French commander ordered the arreſt both of all perſons, born Britiſh ſubjects, and of thoſe who were of Britiſh origin or Britiſh deſcendants. Their property under the name of ſequeſtration, was laid hold of, plundered and even ſold. Theſe acts were ſo much the more unjuſt, as according to the treaty of alliance between France and Holland, ſigned in 1795, though

 half

half of the garrison of Flushing was to consist of French troops, the inhabitants of that town, as well as of all other parts of Zealand, were to continue under the protection of Batavian laws and to be considered as Batavian citizens.

Many of the British subjects established in Zealand were not of the most respectable class, and smuggling with England, was almost the only trade carried on by them; but though they violated the laws of their own country, they did not infringe those of the Batavian republic by such nefarious practices; on the contrary, by their capitals, by their industry and by their adventurous speculations, they supported hundreds of Batavian families, who now were involved in the same ruin with them. The government of this country was so aware of this truth, that it not only remonstrated to the French

French commander in Zealand on this ſubject, but alſo ordered the Batavian ambaſſador at Paris, to demand the repeal of theſe outrageous ordinances. Its interference was, however, of no utility; on the contrary, hearing his conduct thus indirectly approved by Buonaparte, the French General extended his acts of oppreſſion to Middleburgh, and to all other parts of Zealand, and the inhabitants ſaw no other end in their ſufferings, but to withdraw from their native land and, by a voluntary exile, eſcape future horrors. To profit, even to the laſt, by the effects of his tyranny, he publiſhed an order, according to which no perſon could leave Zealand without a paſs ſigned by him, for which he charged from one florin to a ducat. This ſtopped the emigration of the lower claſſes, and prevented Zealand from

from being occupied by Frenchmen alone.

By another regulation, ſtill more tyrannical, he commanded all the inhabitants of Fluſhing, whether men or women, above twelve years of age, to provide themſelves with cards of ſafety, for which they were to pay a florin each. Theſe cards were to be renewed for half that price every Sunday forenoon, at the government office, and all perſons found without ſuch cards, or neglecting to renew them, were to be taken up and tried as Britiſh emiſſaries. Monnet is the commander's name, who exerciſed ſo many vaxations, and treated the citizens of an allied republic worſe than often have been uſed the ſubjects of a vanquiſhed and ſubjugated Prince, an obſcure officer dragged forwards from the mire of the revolution by Buonaparte, whom he in return ſerves with

a de-

a devotion, that makes him forget frequently both principles of honor, and fentiments of humanity.

The citizen, who related to me thefe details, has by his emigration loft upwards of half his fortune, and thinks himfelf happy to have been able to efcape with the remainder from the rapacious and unfeeling petty tyrant Monnet.

LETTER XLIX.

Antwerp, June, 1804.

MY LORD,

ON the prefent frontiers of France, two leagues from this city, is a French cuftom-houfe, where every traveller is ftopped to have his luggage vifited. I meet here with more civility, or at leaft with lefs difficulty, than when I entered the Batavian republic at Doefburgh. After opening my trunks, they fhut them again, without touching or tumbling over any thing. It was a mere formality; but the poftillion told me, that it was ufual to recompenfe their politenefs with a fmall douceur, which I willingly did. Half-a-crown is not thrown away on fuch an occafion. Had they ftrictly examined my luggage, it would have taken

taken up near an hour to replace every thing as it was before.

On the half way between the cuſtom-houſe and this city, my chaiſe was ſtopped by a brigade of gens d'armes, the officer of whom demanded my own and my ſervant's paſſports. After looking them over, and writing down our names, &c. he permitted us to proceed. A ſentry at the gate of this city ſtopped us again, and called a police agent, who took our paſſes to his office, from which, after the abſence of a quarter of an hour, he returned with them, telling us to preſent ourſelves before eleven o'clock on the next morning, at the prefecture of the department, and aſking the name of the inn we went to, he requeſted a douceur for his trouble, which I complied with from charity; his appearance being ſuch, that I would ſooner have ſuppoſed him a beggar, than a public

public functionary, as he called himself.

Arrived at the inn, called *Le grand Laboureur*, I got with some difficulty an apartment, the house being crowded with travellers, detained by the order of the ministry of police. The cause of this detention was the discovery of the late conspiracy; previously every person entering or leaving France, was permitted to continue his journey as soon as his passport had been exhibited at the prefecture, and obtained the signature of the prefect. At present, every individual travelling either towards foreign countries or towards the interior of France, cannot go on before a special pass of the minister of police permits it. This regulation both causes a great loss of time and a great expence; because at the police office at Paris, if you have no particular friends who interest themselves for you,

and

and your requeſt is not accompanied with a preſent, you are forgotten, and may remain and linger on the frontiers for months. Many of the paſſengers of this inn had been here two, three, and ſome were four months, and were ſtill uncertain when enabled and permitted to leave it. They are allowed to walk about the ſtreets during the day, but cannot paſs the gates without being attended with a ſentinel, who anſwers for their return. Twice in the decade they are to preſent themſelves at the police office, and if they are not in their lodgings before dark, and the landlord does not inform againſt them, he is fined one thouſand livres, 42l. As their former paſſports are taken from them, and all their papers ſealed up, were they inclined to eſcape, it would be no eaſy matter, as gens d'armes patrol day and night on all the roads in the French republic, and

arreſt

arreſt every body who is without a paſſport.

Buonaparte's ambaſſador at the Hague, M. de Simonville, had informed me of the obſtacles I ſhould encounter here, had I not a paſſport waiting for me, ſigned by Fouche. I therefore had written to a friend at Paris, acquainted with this miniſter, and before I left Holland, he wrote me in anſwer, that paſſports had been expedited for me and my ſervant, and were addreſſed to the prefecture here, where we might claim them.

I this morning waited on M. Herbouville, the prefect of this department, called *Des Deux Nethes.* I had known him formerly, and that he was a gentleman by birth, education and principles, and his reception did therefore not ſurpriſe me. He invited me to dine with him every day, during my ſtay here, and ſaid obligingly that

to

to force me to remain, he would keep my pafs for a month at leaft, before he gave me it, and with it an opportunity to proceed. I was glad to hear from himfelf that, though a citizen of old France, he liked his fituation, and was alfo liked by the new French citizens of his department. This reciprocal content is fo much the more honourable, as though he never emigrated, or approved or oppofed the revolution, this is the firft place in which he appears as a public functionary on the revolutionary ftage. He owes his prefent preferment to Madame Buonaparte, with whom, during her former marriage, he was *intimately* acquainted.

LETTER

LETTER L.

Antwerp, June, 1804.

MY LORD,

I HAVE been wandering about this city during four hours, this morning, to admire the activity with which Buonaparte labours to make it a place of a firſt naval ſtation. To effect which, he neither ſpares pains, rewards, encouragements, nor chaſtiſements. He has, beſides Frenchmen, engaged naval architects from Sweden and Denmark, and has bribed over a number of artificers from Great Britain. All theſe men are under the direction of the maritime prefect Malouet, and other able perſons well verſed in naval and maritime tranſactions and affairs. The quantity of timber and other materials, already here

here, for conftructing a navy, are great and valuable indeed, but I do not believe what I heard Malouet fay, that they are fufficient for building twenty fhips of the line and ten frigates; but mafter of the forefts and rivers of Bràbant, Germany, and Holland, the proximity of this port is very advantageous for making ufe of the immenfe refources offered. For a long time to come, however, it will be more eafy to build and launch fhips and frigates in this part of modern France, than to find and create failors to man them. I heard, neverthelefs, Malouet affert with confidence, that it would be from the north of France alone, where the death blow of Englifh power and dependence could be ftruck with any probability of fuccefs.

This Malouet is another revolutionary hero of inconfiftency, and of ingratitude. Before the revolution an

an intendant of the marine at Toulon, his democratical principles made him elected a deputy of the states general in 1789 for the *teirs etat* of Riom, in Auvergne. In this place he conducted himself with moderation and declared himself a friend of monarchy; he opposed the factions with ability, and despised the threats of the seditious with courage. He approved of the revolution; of establishing a constitutional monarchy; and of other dangerous innovations, as far as they coincided with his own revolutionary notions; but other revolutionists of stronger lungs, and greater orators, or rather declaimers, were more popular, and obtained a preference which hurt his vanity and humbled his pride. Confounding, as all other French reformers have done, his private feelings with public duty and the public welfare, he declared against every thing that

that had been altered, changed and overthrown, even againſt thoſe acts which previouſly had been applauded by him, and become the friend of the throne and altar as they had been, becauſe he could not new model them according to his plans of regeneration.

After the maſſacres of September, 1792, he went over to England, and wrote to the national convention, claiming the right of a French citizen, and the honour of being the official defender of his King, Louis XVI. then ordered before this tribunal of robbers and aſſaſſins; but upon the motion of Buonaparte's preſent councellor of ſtate Treillard, his requeſt was refuſed, and his name put upon the liſt of emigrants. During 1793 he offered his ſervices to the Britiſh government; and pretending to poſſeſs both intereſt and property in the French colonies, he had the adroitneſs to procure him-

ſelf a penſion of one thouſand guineas, which he enjoyed until the moment he became a confidential counſellor of Buonaparte, and was employed by him to prepare the deſtruction of the Britiſh empire. This is a ſample of his gratitude ! ! !

During his ſtay in England he declared himſelf the moſt ſtedfaſt adherent of his legitimate King, Louis XVIII. Do you want any other proof of his conſiſtency than his preſent ſervitude under an uſurper? But I ſhall inſert in his own words his former political confeſſion, and after reading this, leave you to draw your own concluſion.

In a letter printed and publiſhed in London, during the month of July 1799, when ſpeaking of a rumour of changing the ſucceſſion from the family that filled the throne, on account of its pretended attachment to the

abuſes

abuſes of the old ſyſtem, he exclaims thus:

" In this manner do the regicides call around them all the intereſts, all the fears of thoſe who have taken any ſhare whatever in the revolution; and thus do they hope to ſeduce even foreigners who wiſh to be delivered at any rate from the French republic. *But what ſovereign could be tempted to ſanction the revolution by voluntarily adjudging the reward of it to an uſurper? The rights of ſucceſſion and of property ariſe from the ſame baſis, and the violation of them leads to the ſame conſequences.* Where is the hope of ſeeing an end to ſo many calamities otherwiſe than by a new conſecration of all the lawful rights? Thoſe of the people and thoſe of the Prince have a common ſource, the *pureneſs* of which it is of the utmoſt importance to reſtore and preſerve. Where is the

 French-

Frenchman, out of the circle of lead- ing criminals, who has not more to dread from the prefent tyranny than from his old government.

"The authority of a King may be too great! Alas! abufed authority has been rendered fo execrable by ufurpers, that a lawful Prince will never be tempted to preclude it; but tutelar authority, that which protects and preferves, cannot be too powerful.

"It is the factious, then, and the moft guilty among them, who continue to miflead this agitated nation, even in appearing to favour its inclination towards royalty. They call for a change in the line of fucceffion, that is to fay, for an endlefs civil war; for either the new King would be alien to the houfe of Bourbon, or of the fame blood, but of another branch. In the former cafe, it would not be for the intereft of Europe more than for the French,

French, that the Prince of another fovereign houfe fhould fow th feeds of war by a title depending upon a different fucceffion, or by fo clofe a connection between two great monarchies: in the latter cafe, the lawful heir of the Bourbons does not renounce his rights. Royalty, however, once eftablifhed, would not the ufurper be fupported by the revolutionifts? Granted:——but would thofe who are not fo, would the loyal fubjects, or even the difcontented factions, hefitate to write in favour of the lawful King? Once again then, for the intereft of a few guilty men, would innocent blood be fhed, and the tranquillity of the empire be difturbed! *And what charge can be laid againft Louis XVIII. by which he forfeits the veneration and loyalty* WE OWE *him?* Where fhould we find a King better inftructed by misfortunes, lefs exafperated againft his enemies, or more

 difpofed

difpofed to all the modifications, and all the facrifices which reafon could authorife or policy counfel?

"Let the French nation at length throw off their tyrants, *and fee in their incapacity to govern otherwife than by* TERROR, *the neceffity of returning to the paternal and* NATIONAL *fcepter.*

"It is at length difcovered that the revolutionary oligarchy is incompatible with the fafety of other ftates. It is againft the *armed opinions, and againft the force hoftile to all lawful power,* that the war is now waged, and if the parties treat again with a French republic, it can no longer be compofed either of the fame men or of the fame principles; now a regeneration of its elements appears to me much more difficult, than the reftoration of the monarchy.

"Are we to wonder then that three hundred

hundred thousand revolutionists, who have but one object and a common interest, should present themselves to Europe as a military national body, when they are allowed the means of converting their oppressed countrymen into auxiliaries?

"On the dissolution of this revolutionary power, (and Louis XVIII. ALONE can dissolve it) depends the repose of Europe; and the means to effect it are open to the French, the road that would lead them to a lawful government, *to a monarchy under Louis XVIII.* wisely modified."

I have extracted the above verbatim from a volume of his miscellaneous works, lent me here by Malouet himself. It is fortunate for him that Buonaparte has not time to read much; were this letter to fall under his eyes, he might see in his present maritime prefect, instead of a faithful

 slave,

ſlave, a ſecret adherent of the Bourbons, and a dutiful ſubject of his legitimate King, a *crime* that no cringing, no ſervices can extenuate with the Emperor of the French. Malouet has, however, lately, in the addreſs ſent by him to Buonaparte, in compliment of the aſſumption of the Imperial dignity, ſaid theſe very words: "Sire! I have long conſidered your Majeſty as a regenerating and reviving PROVIDENCE of France——of Europe. What title does not ſuch a SUPERIOR BEING deſerve and honor!" He wrote thus to the man whoſe hands were ſtill reeking with the blood of a Duke of Enghien, a Bourbon, aſſaſſinated within three months by his accomplices and by his command! What a contemptible ſet of miſcreants are not even the ableſt and *moſt pure* of French revolutioniſts!

LETTER

LETTER LI.

Antwerp, June, 1804.

MY LORD,

THE iſſue of the trials of the State criminals at Paris, produces here but little ſenſation, thoſe who were capitally convicted, (and particularly Georges) are generally pitied, as ſacrificed victims, whoſe manes are to terrify from Buonaparte's uſurped throne, not only its lawful owner, but upſtart rivals. Moreau's conduct is approved by none, and blamed by many, and his fate inſpires more contempt than pity. Had he been a man of character and of principle, he ought to have been the ſecond, if not the firſt perſon in France.

On the ſubject of this conſpiracy I heard many different opinions at a din-

ner with Citizen Verbrouck, a capital merchant and the Mayor of this city. One of the party was imprudent enough to declare the whole merely an invention by the friends of Buonaparte's government; becaufe, faid he, if the death of the Emperor had been refolved on, one man is fufficient to kill another man, and Georges alone would have been fufficient for fuch a crime, as he owns, that ever fince 1799, (when perfons, fuppofed by him to be employed by Buonaparte to take away his own life by poifon, were arrefted and fhot in the weftern departments, by a Chouan Council of War,) he confidered the life of the then Firft Conful forfeited to him, according to the laws of nations, and of retaliation. As to the prefence at Paris of Pichegru and other individuals, inculpated with him, he believed them not to have arrived in France for any other purport,

but

but to revifit their native country, to embrace the friends of their youth, and perhaps to fee by themfelves whether the public opinion was favourable to reftore the former order of things, or to continue the unlimited power of the prefent military government.

Another citizen, and a member of the council of the prefecture, believed, that, notwithftanding fome exaggerations, and additions, a confpiracy really exifted; but that the confpirators, inftead of intending to murder Buonaparte, had in view to feize him alive, to carry him away and to make ufe of his name, of his fortune, and of his authority, to engage the French nation to receive Louis XVIII. for their King or Emperor. He thought that this was evident from the many delays, from the regimentals of Buonaparte's guides, befpoken by the confpirators, and from the relays of horfes, by crofs

roads from Paris to Havre, discovered by the minister of police. Had this not been the case, said he, why did not Georges, who as a carrier of wood, is known to have penetrated for weeks into Buonaparte's closet and bed-room, and to have lodged in the very palace of the Thuilleries, why did not he, a man of such a desperate and fanatical character, dispatch a man, whom he believed the only impediment against the restoration of the Bourbons?

All these, said a third, and an Anti-Anglican, are very plausible arguments, but the fact is, that a conspiracy existed, not to destroy Buonaparte and his government, but to extirpate the true and faithful adherents of the Bourbons, and to terrify all other loyal men from attempting any thing in favour of a house, which that of Brunswick could never forgive for its former support of the house Stuart, which

it

it rather desired to relieve by charity, than to see powerful and independent. The British ministers are also well convinced, that whatever is the prosperity of the natural enemy of their country, it must be precarious as long as no lawful Prince rules in France, and thus meditate to profit by the anarchy, by the troubles of the Continent of Europe. Suppose Buonaparte was to die a natural death, or fall the victim of an assassin; what would be the consequence? Ten or twenty pretenders to his supremacy, would start up: perhaps each of our military divisions would salute their commander an Emperor; his will might be sanctioned in the senate and even at Paris, but it would finally share the fate of the will of Louis XIV. its accomplishment, its execution would cease with his life; the Buonaparte dynasty would certainly expire with him.

No,

No, said a fourth, it is impoffible, that a conquering government, fo ably, and fo firmly organifed, can depend upon upon the life of a fingle individual. Every public functionary, every purchafer of national property, every one who has joined in the revolution; who has been feduced by examples, or mifled by zeal; whom fophiftry has duped, or temptation degraded, who has been a friend of liberty, an admirer of equality, or an enemy of defpotifm, muft be interefted in the exiftence and the prefervation of the prefent conftitution, and its continuance with our pofterity. So many paffions, fo many views, fo many actual and remote interefts coalefce, to eternalife, if I may make ufe of the expreffion, the fupreme authority of the French Empire among the Buonaparte's, that it is almoft impoffible, that their defcendants do not organife

organiſe a new dynaſty among ſovereign houſes of Europe. The Bourbons will finiſh, like the Stuarts. First, they will be aſſiſted by policy, careſſed by ſelfiſhneſs, and relieved by compaſſion; but afterwards, neglected by indifference, or illtreated by illiberality, ſhunned by their equals, and inſulted by their inferiors, they will moulder away; and within a century, the oldeſt branch of the family of the proud Louis XIV. will exiſt no more. The obſcurity of the others will make them happy, like a Cardinal York, to live the penſioner of a Prince, whoſe forefathers their anceſtors have deſpiſed and proſcribed as uſurpers.

Many more ingenious or extravagant obſervations were made, but the above remarks are ſufficient to prove to you both the agitation and unſettled ſtate of the public mind in Buonaparte's

parte's Empire. I have not inferted a line, the contents of which was not pronounced by a fuperior military, or civil, public functionary of Napoleon the Firft.

LETTER

LETTER LII.

Antwerp, July, 1804.

MY LORD,

YOU are already acquainted with the origin, progreſs and decay of the trade of Antwerp; that three centuries ago its merchants were notorious every where, when the Batavians were not known, even as fiſhermen; that they erected palaces, while the Hollanders lived in wooden huts, and that ſovereigns were their debtors, long before Kings of England had any credit either on the Continent, or among their own ſubjects. Political and religious liberty ſoon altered the face of affairs; elevated and enriched their Batavian neighbours——made Britons induſtrious and illuſtrious, and left

left Antwerp a prey to ſuperſtition, indolence and fanaticiſm.

That the proſperity of commercial induſtry is of longer duration, than the wealth ſeized or extorted by military conqueſts, the riches of Antwerp even at preſent evince: of the treaſures captured by the Spaniards in America, nothing is preſerved but the memory; of the capitals gained or hoarded three hundred years ago by the merchants of Antwerp, their poſterity to this day enjoy the fruits, the produce. Not a city upon the Continent, of the ſame population, has within its walls ſo many individuals and families of independent fortunes, ſubſiſting entirely on the intereſts of their money in the funds of different Princes and States of Europe.

The high and beautiful houſes of this city, the ſplendor of equipages, and the ſumptuous repaſts of its firſt citizens, preſent, however, a ſhocking contraſt

contraſt to the abject poverty, immorality, and profligacy of the inferior claſſes. I nowhere have ſeen the beggars more numerous, more miſerable, more vicious and more inſolent. They do not beg, but command alms; and if they ſee that you are a ſtranger, offer to proſtitution their mothers, ſiſters or children.

Several foreign houſes have, within ſome few years eſtabliſhed themſelves here; but the rupture with England, and above all, the military navy, and military magiſtracy, which Buonaparte intends to eſtabliſh here, muſt for ever make commercial ſpeculations precarious, if not unſafe. Trade can never proſper where freedom is proſcribed; guard-houſes always cruſh counting-houſes; and where the parades are crowded, the exchanges muſt be deſerted.

The majority of the people are diſſatisfied with being incorporated with France,

France, and deteſt the preſence of French governors, prefects, biſhops, directors, police commiſſaries, gens-d'armes, ſpies and informers. Though during the late years, and juſt before the revolution, they ſhowed themſelves far from being attached to the houſe of Auſtria, at preſent their only wiſh, their only deſire, and their ſupreme felicity ſeem to be, once more to be counted among the ſubjects of Francis II. inſtead of Napoleon the Firſt. I believe, however, upon the whole, that they do not know themſelves what they deſire, and that the beſt and moſt paternal government would not long exiſt without hearing their murmurs, and being diſguſted with their fickleneſs and inconſiſtency.

That this city has ſuffered much ſince the revolution cannot be doubted; but it has not endured either more or leſs than other places in Brabant and

and Flanders. The French revolutionary rulers, in emptying their purſes, have alſo ſported with the feelings of the inhabitants of the Low Countries. They have inſulted their prejudices and diſregarded their cuſtoms; and attempted, with an indifference and frivolity, incomprehenſible were they not national, to change in ſome few years the manners and orderly habits of a people, that for centuries have not varied them. Although generations have ſucceeded each other ſince theſe countries were under Spaniſh dominion, the character of the inhabitants, their way of living, thinking, and dreſſing, reſemble much more thoſe of the Spaniards than of the Auſtrians.

As the French revolutioniſts generally add mockery to oppreſſion, ſo they have in this country, beſides immenſe requiſitions, and extraordinary

extortions

extortions in money and in kind, laid them under regular contributions, as ſubjects of Auſtria, as a conquered people, as an incorporated people, and as French citizens. Since the peace of Luneville, this ſort of legal and official pillage has, however, in part ceaſed, and with the exception of what French generals, commiſſaries, tax-gatherers, collectors, and inferior officers, wreſt from them by violence and by the law of power, they are not ſo much harraſſed as they were before that period. But here, as well as in Holland, you do not walk in a ſtreet, you do not frequent a public place or private party, where you do not hear the curſes of French fraternity.

LETTER LIII.

Antwerp, July, 1804.

MY LORD,

ALTHOUGH from the loſſes experienced by the revolution, all the *ci-devant* nobles do not any longer live in that ſplendour, they did formerly, they ſtill ſupport the dignity of their rank by external ſhow and appearances much better than returned French nobility. The capitals, which their anceſtors, or they themſelves had placed in the funds of foreign countries, and which were out of the reach of revolutionary banditties, have enabled them, even during their emigration, not only to experience no want, but to enjoy a kind of comfort, unknown to refugees of other countries, leſs prudent, leſs wiſe or leſs fortunate.

Among

Among the ancient families, Count de Rose, de Pradt, Boeschart, Dubois, Knigge, and others still see and invite strangers, have their assemblies, tea parties, balls and suppers. The society here is, however, very formal, and as I have heard, is also much troubled by petty jealousies, petty malice, petty chicanery and great gossiping. Indeed in a city where the first classes have neither business nor diversions to occupy their time, where they have no taste for reading nor are fond of literary amusements, idleness itself is sufficient to produce all the troubles, vices and torments complained of. The wealthy and unemployed being must always be a mischief maker, and he who does no good generally is bent upon evil. Nature never intended us to become neutral and merely indigenous inhabitants of this globe, where every element is in continual movement, and where

where from the minute we enter upon the ſcene of life, we begin an uninterrupted march towards our deſtruction.

During the month of Auguſt 1794, the moſt reſpectable and opulent families emigrated firſt to Holland and afterwards to Germany. They ſettled at laſt in maſs for the winter at Bremen, where they brought with them every thing which they had not left behind at Antwerp, even their family jealouſies, pretenſions and tales. They aſſociated with but few foreigners, and admitted into their coteries no ſtrangers who were not approved of by their confeſſors, becauſe they were accompanied in their exile by whole eſtabliſhments of monks, nuns, abbés, &c. and not a ſmall part of their time was therefore ſtolen from ſcandal, for devotion, or rather for ſuperſtition. Few of the female part of the Antwerp migration, at leaſt thoſe of a certain age, but would

have renounced the ſociety of their fathers, huſbands and children, ſooner than not have an opportunity of eaſing their conſciences in a weekly chit chat with ſome conſoling confeſſor or tender director. To them I am told that they were exceedingly charitable and liberal, while at the ſame time the diſtreſs of their non-clerical countrymen obtained no other relief from them, than their prayers.

While they were thus engaged abroad, their houſes and property at home were ſeized upon, pillaged and laid waſte by French revolutioniſts, who ſold or appropriated to themſelves their furniture and moveables. As, however, the abſence of ſo many capitaliſts, whoſe riches were chiefly depoſited in foreign countries, and out of the reach of revolutionary banditti, was ſeverely felt and complained of, a decree of the national convention

permitted

permitted them to return, and ordered their eftates to be reftored, if within a fixed period they prefented themfelves before their refpective departments, and paid in ready money, and at once, one year's revenue of their monied, as well as of their landed property. Moft of them accepted of this *favour*, but had foon reafon to repent of their credulity and indifcretion.

The ordinance of regicide France, which affimilated the perfons and property of fubjects of other ftates with French emigrants and their eftates, which profcribed the one and confifcated the other, for no other reafon but thirft after blood and plunder, was another outrage againft the laws of war and civilized nations, which legitimate Princes overlooked too lightly, not forefeeing or knowing the immenfe refources this law of terror put at the difpofal of the confpirators againft

ſocial order. All the ſubſidies that Great Britain during the laſt war paid to continental ſovereigns, do not amount to a tenth part of the produce of the ſequeſtrations and confiſcations in the conquered countries, of which French revolutionary rulers diſpoſed. Had the Engliſh government uſed repriſals in their conqueſts in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; had they declared national property, all the eſtates of the abſentees, and laid the French owners of all property under ſuch exorbitant contributions, as the French government have exacted from the ſubjects of other ſtates in Europe, more than ſufficient wealth would have been found even to double the ſums tranſmitted according to ſubſidiary treaties. But on this as well as on many other occaſions ſince the revolution, the morality of one government has indirectly

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contributed to encreafe the audacity and immorality of another.

The firft falutation the returned emigrants of this city received from their French brothers, was a mandate to declare upon oath the amount of their money in other ftates, and to withdraw it within a fixed period under pain of confifcation and imprifonment. It was intended to force them to exchange it for French affignats; but an act of the Britifh legiflature had wifely forefeen fuch extortion, and prevented their effects in England, and the Auftrian government haftened to follow its example. Difppointed and enraged, the French marauders impofed as a forced loan ten per cent. of the value of all funded or landed property of the *ci-devant* emigrants, to be under pain of imprifonment and fine acquitted within a given time. Requifition, extraordinary contributions, patriotic dona-

tions have ſince continued without interruption, ſo much, that every perſon of property had at the concluſion of the peace of Luneville contributed ſixty per cent. of his or her capital!

Here, as in moſt other places, the French had ſecret admirers before their arrival, and ſecret adherents of their revolutionary notions, even among miſguided or ignorant men of rank and property. One of theſe called upon the French commiſſary general, proved his paſt ſentiments and demanded, as a true patriot, a diminution of the contribution impoſed upon him. "Have you got a louis d'or in your pocket?" aſked the Frenchman; upon receiving it, he continued: "this is another louis d'or juſt paid me by one of your greateſt ariſtocrats, and I do not ſee any difference between the two coins; if you can prove any, and that the louis d'ors of the patriots are more valuable,

valuable, and accepted for higher value in circulation, I ſhall certainly diminiſh in proportion your ſhare of the public burden; but until I am convinced of it, I muſt tell you, my friend, that money we want, and money we muſt have, whether from patriots or ariſtocrats is the ſame to us. I am nevertheleſs of opinion that the former ought to be taxed rather higher than the latter, becauſe we came here as their deliverers from tyranny.

LETTER LIV.

Antwerp, July, 1804.

MY LORD,

THE English artificers here, whether, as report says, dismissed from their own country, during the last peace, or as having deserted over here, after being deluded by Buonaparte's emissaries, deserve great pity. They are worse treated than our galley slaves, work harder, and obtain only a third of the usual pay, the other two thirds *will be paid at a peace with England.* This scanty allowance is not sufficient to support, without charitable donations of the compassionate, even their own existence, much less to provide for the wants of wives and children. The latter now crowd, in rags, the streets, and augment the great number

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of beggars here; lament their folly of having quitted their country, and accuse our government both of perfidy and cruelty.

As several of these artificers have contrived means, notwithstanding the vigilance of Buonaparte's prefect of the marine, and of his subalterns, to escape to Holland, Germany, and England, they are now all shut up every night, as the galley slaves, in dungeons of the citadel. A printed ordinance, in the French and English languages, posted up at the gates of this city, informs them, that an attempt to desert from our naval arsenals and dock-yards, is, in time of war, a capital crime, and will be punished as such; but though five of them had already been executed in consequence, another retaken last night was shot this morning, and the person in whose house he was found concealed, has

 been

been fined twelve hundred livres, and is to ſtand in the pillory for four hours. I ſaw him march to death with a great deal of courage, by turns ſinging God ſave the King! Rule Britannia! and curſing Buonaparte's tyranny. He was under forty years of age; his name was Hughes, and he has left a widow and four children to mourn his untimely end. I have however, been fortunate enough to perſuade Herbouville and Malouet, to permit them to return to their own country in an American ſhip, where I have paid for their paſſage.

Buonaparte's inveteracy againſt the Britiſh nation, is inexplicable to me. It diſplays itſelf on every occaſion. I was told, by an authority I cannot doubt, that upon a written repreſentation to him, of the neceſſity of ſending back to Great Britain, the families of Engliſh mechanics and artificers,

artificers, to prevent them perifhing by want, he wrote with his own hand,—"NO! LET THEM REMAIN AND STARVE," (*Non! qu'elles restent et meurent*").

How ungenerous, how unfeeling, and how barbarous, to avenge himfelf upon innocent and helplefs women and children, for the real or imaginary wrongs of the government of their country, or becaufe they are natives of a ftate, that alone prevents the execution of the favourite plan of his outrageous ambition, to fway and opprefs the main, as he already does the Continent. Had he been born to inherit a throne, all thofe unbecoming, illiberal, and degrading paffions would never have been foftered in his bofom, or difhonoured a royal or imperial diadem.

I have heard a French general declare, that Buonaparte hates almoft as much

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the citizens of America, as the ſubjects of Great Britain, only becauſe they are deſcendants of Britons, and ſpeak the Engliſh language. This is indeed to carry prejudice and hatred too far.

The garriſon here is not numerous, but merely ſufficient to do duty in the citadel, on the harbour and at the gates. But troops are continually paſſing and repaſſing, and four leagues from hence, preparations are made to encamp ten thouſand men. The officers and men conduct themſelves here with more propriety, or rather with leſs licentiouſneſs, than in Holland and Hanover. The inhabitants feel, however, daily, from many petty acts of oppreſſion and violence, that they are ruled by a military deſpotiſm, and that almoſt every bayonet in the hand of a ruffian, is with impunity transformed into a ſceptre.

LETTER

LETTER LV.

Ghent, July 1804.

MY LORD,

AS I had ſome friends to viſit, who are now encamped on the coaſt, I have taken the neareſt way, and arrived here yeſterday in the afternoon, after an agreeable journey of ſeven hours in the diligence. I ſhould adviſe all travellers, who do not wiſh to be impoſed upon, or to ſquander away unneceſſarily their money on the road, to follow my example, if they are bleſſed with ſome philoſophy, and with the ſame happy obſcurity like myſelf.

Theſe diligences ſet out at eight o'clock every morning from Antwerp, contain places for twelve inſide paſſengers, ſtop half way, and allow an

an hour for dinner, for which and for the places are regulated prices, ſo low, that I did not lay out two French crowns for myſelf and my ſervant together. Had I travelled with poſt horſes, the expence would have been above four louis d'ors or ſixteen crowns, not including a dinner. Two French crowns would hardly been ſufficient to pay for the turnpikes, which are both numerous and expenſive.

In leaving Antwerp for Ghent, you are obliged to paſs the river Scheldt in a ferry boat. Before you enter it, a police agent, aſſiſted by two gens d'armes, inſpects your paſs. On leaving the ferry-boat on the oppoſite bank, another police agent, with another gens d'armes inſpect it again. When you have travelled two leagues, you are ſtopped by a guard-houſe of gens d'armes, where all paſſengers are obliged to alight and exhibit their paſſes. At a farther

a farther diſtance of two leagues, at the beautiful and populous village of St. Nicholas, gens d'armes again preſent themſelves, and the paſſports undergo another exhibition. You are thus troubled almoſt every two leagues diſtance, by fixed poſts of gens d'armes, beſides ſeveral patroles of them are hovering about, every moment, and ſtop all travellers, whether in a carriage, on foot or on horſeback.

When at the gates of Ghent, the police agent takes the regiſter containing the names and number of paſſengers, and compares its contents with their paſſes. (Before they can admit you at the coach offices in France to beſpeak a place, they aſk for your paſs, which they nearly copy.) We were detained at the gate here upwards of half an hour; we were queſtioned as to the name of the inn where we intended to lodge; how long we wiſhed to remain,

and

and what was our bufinefs here. Arrived at the inn, the landlord afked for our paffes, wrote down their contents in the regifter, depofited by the police in his houfe, and informed us that before our departure, it was our duty to prefent ourfelves at the prefecture, and afk the fignature of the prefect, as without it, we could not proceed.

I lodge here at an inn called the Red Lion, kept by a civil German; the accommodation here is both better and cheaper than at Antwerp; my expences at this houfe, are not half fo great as at the inns of Holland, and I eat and drink better, and occupy an apartment better furnifhed. For board and lodging for myfelf and my fervant, including wine to dinner and fupper, I do not pay three French half crowns in the day.

At the ordinary here dine every day eighty

eighty French officers of the garrifon, or from the camps in the vicinity; though more referved than their country-men at Rotterdam, they fpeak more freely than I expected to hear, their opinions of the Buonaparte dynafty, and of the invafion of England, now the common topics of converfation and of fpeculation. The fentiments on both thefe fubjects were far from being unanimous; fome thought, that Buonaparte had been too hafty in affuming an imperial title, and that the invafion and fubjugation of Great Britain fhould have preceded his elevation; while others thought that he had waited too long, and that after the peace of Amiens, when he proclaimed himfelf a Firft Conful for life, it was the moment to force England with the reft of Europe, to acknowledge the rights and fupremacy of the Buonaparte dynafty.

But

But as to the poſſibility of invading England, in the preſent inferior ſtate of the French navy; opinions were ſtill more divided; the arguments againſt it were the ſtrongeſt, as thoſe who thought it practicable only mentioned Buonaparte's former fortune, and the extraordinary things it had enabled him to perform, as the cauſe of their hope of cruſhing the tyrants of the ſeas. I could not help remarking on this and other occaſions, how many proſelytes Buonaparte's doctrine of fataliſm, and faith in a deſtiny, has made, particularly in the army: when ſome obſerved, that as the Engliſh were reſolved on an obſtinate defence, many of them, who now dined there, might furniſh proviſions for the fiſhes next year, ſhould Buonaparte undertake the invaſion, twenty voices at once exclaimed, "if it has been written in the Book of Fate, that

we

we are to be food for fiſhes, whether we ſail for England or not, we cannot prevent it. In paſſing a canal, a river, or only in manœuvring along our own coaſts, the fiſhes may obtain their due deſtined them from eternity; but if we are deſtined to ſurvive ſuch an attempt, we have nothing more to fear from the waves than from bullets."

I have heard that Napoleon is not ſorry to be informed, that his officers and men are in a fair way of becoming predeſtinarians. The conqueſts of the Turkiſh Sultans were all achieved by fanatics of that deſcription; and what infidelity has effected in the Eaſt, it may alſo produce in the Weſt. True predeſtinarians will, in gun-boats, aſſail firſt-rate men of war, and ruſh into battle with the ſame indifference as they ſit down to dinner.

LETTER

LETTER LVI.

Ghent, July, 1804.

MY LORD,

MY friend Herbouville gave me a letter of recommendation to the prefect of the department, L'Escaut, residing here. His name is Faypoult, and he was, before the revolution, a clerk in a pawnbroker's shop. Having joined with zeal in the revolution, he was employed by the revolutionary ministers, Roland and Garat, in the office of the ministry of the interior, and had art enough to escape the proscriptions and disgrace of his patrons. In 1795, the directory appointed him a minister of the finances, and he published several memorials to prove, what every-body knew, their ruinous situation, but he did not write a line to propose a re-

medy

medy for their diforder. Talleyrand, who in 1796 intrigued to fupplant him, compared him, in an anonymous publication, to a quack who knows all complaints, but who, with his drugs, aggravates inftead of curing them, and turned him fo completely into ridicule, that notwithftanding the protection of Rewbel, he was deprived of the minifterial port-folio, and fent a minifter to Genoa. From his arrival there, he exercifed the moft abfolute defpotifm. He forced the Doge to revoke all banifhed Genoefe rebels, to order away the imperial agent, and to have delivered up to him feveral Englifh fhips in the harbour, confidered by Britifh traders as neutral. He was afterwards appointed a commiffary general of the army in the kingdom of Naples, where his extortions and plunder not a little exafperated the inhabitants, and induced them to revolt. Here, within

fome

ſome few months, he is ſuppoſed to have robbed them of three millions of livres, 126,000 pounds, for a part of which he bought national property in Flanders. By a *douceur*, given apropos to Madame Buonaparte, he was advanced to a prefect, and lives here now in great ſtyle, boaſts of his anceſtors, (though it is known that his father was a tinker) and ſpeaks of the great loſſes his family has ſuffered by the revolution. (You muſt know that it is at preſent the height of faſhion to be deſcended from good families, and to have been among the victims of the rebellion.)

With the ſtiff manners of a proud upſtart he does the honours of his houſe; and all gueſts, who are not favourites of Buonaparte, influencing his government, or of a revolutionary rank above himſelf, he treats with an inſolence and *hauteur* which would be offenſive,

offenfive, were they not too affected and too ridiculous to infpire other fentiments than contempt or pity. I have heard him fpeak in the rudeft manner even to ladies, and caufe them not only to blufh, but to cry. His wife, who has been before his miftrefs, mimicks the tone and affumes the air and importance of her fpoufe, and at once c——— and defpifes him. It is believed here that fhe is not infenfible to the merit of Tinel, her hufband's fecretary, whom, it is faid, fhe employs as an amanuenfis in her *boudoir*; an office not enviable when character and fize are confidered.

The firft time I dined with Faypoult, General Van Damme was of the party. Son of a barber, flogged, burned upon his fhoulders, and condemned to the gallies for houfe-breaking before the revolution, this military hero is tormented with the fame upftart

vanity

vanity as the prefect, whofe fuperior in rank he is. He took care to let Faypoult feel, that he knew this his great fuperiority, and that he did not allow any kind of familiarity. Once or twice when the prefect attempted to be jocular, he looked round him with furprize, fo as to fay to the other guefts, "admire the impudence of this fellow, am I not very condefcending in not knocking him down?" He gave, however, before the dinner was over, a hint broad enough to inform his hoft that he was rather difpleafed. "When I laft week dined with the Emperor of the French," faid he, with great emphafis, "his majefty told us, his grand officers of the legion of honour, that he trufted to us to obferve and to fee obferved, the neceffary diftance to be kept between each rank, and each public functionary in the ftate, and that his majefty was refolved to order the

fame

ſame ſubordination organized with regard to his civil, as with regard to his military officers. The dreamers of perfect equality may complain of this, but in all times meritorious men have been hailed and reſpected above the vulgar. Of us other grand officers of the legion of honour, every one has given his proof of *virtue*, talents, and courage, and his majeſty has placed us above others becauſe we deſerved it." "Certainly, your excellency," replied Faypoult, "it is as impoſſible that all men can occupy the ſame rank in ſociety, as it is abſurd to expect all men to be of the ſame ſize." All grand officers and moſt generals are now ſtyled excellencies, and the name of the Emperor of the French, of which Van Damme made ſo often uſe, made the prefect afraid that he had rather been too forward, and he therefore endeavoured, by cringing and flattery, to make up for want of prudence.

If you read the newſpapers of 1793 and 1794, you will ſee ſeveral letters of this Van Damme, then commanding on the advanced poſt in the maritime Flanders, ſome addreſſed to the Prince of Coburgh, ſome to the Duke of York, and ſome to the Prince of Orange, but all beginning with Liberty! equality! fraternity! or death! and he ſhot at Furnes with his own hand a French emigrant, a priſoner and diſarmed, only becauſe he conſidered him as an enemy of equality, as he wrote to the national convention. But the ſhameful inconſiſtencies of French revolutioniſts are ſo notorious, and ſo common, that were any one to hint any thing to them on this ſubject, they might be offended, but they would never be abaſhed.

LETTER

LETTER LVII.

Ghent, July, 1804.

MY LORD,

I MET at the prefect's table M. Dellafaille, the mayor of this city, a civil and well informed man, and I dined yesterday at his house. His guests besides myself were chiefly merchants and other respectable inhabitants of this place and its neighbourhood. Considering me as *half* a countryman, their conversation was frank, unguarded, and sincere. Nobody could deny, that the discontent was general in the *ci-devant* Austrian Flanders, and that the French were generally hated and disliked. Situated however as affairs now were, it was more advantageous for the country to be annexed to France,

France, as an integral part, than to be; what it had been for centuries, the continual ſcene of conteſt and carnage. They all complained bitterly of the continuance of all diſregard to order, and of want of ſafety to property. A police ordinance, or a requiſition of a military commiſſary, not only puts whole villages, but whole departments into agitation and confuſion. Sometimes every citizen, whoſe paſs or card of citizenſhip is not quite regular is inſulted, impriſoned and plundered; at other times, the productions of the earth, corn, oats, ſtraw, &c. and his horſes, cattle, waggons and carts are put into requiſition, without any hope of compenſation or of return; the revolutionary anarchy being ſtill more or leſs prevailing in the adminiſtration of the internal affairs, and notwithſtanding the incorporation of this coun-

try,

try, Frenchmen in place continue to act with it, as if it ſtill belonged, not to Auſtria, but to England.

The people of Flanders reſemble in many parts the citizens of the Batavian republic. They are laborious, induſtrious and orderly, and nothing provokes them more than to ſee a parcel of idle and extravagant Frenchmen, rioting in debauchery, and ſpending in ſhow and folly, within ſome weeks, what has coſt them months and perhaps years of aſſiduity, attention, and trouble to gain and preſerve. This cannot be the fault of Buonaparte; he is unable to ſee, know and attend to every thing; but the revolutionary and anarchical ſpirit of his government, and of thoſe he is obliged to truſt and employ, cauſes all the miſchief.

One gentleman of the party related the following anecdote. He is the pro-

 prietor,

prietor, formerly *feigneur*, of a village between Bruges and Oftend. Four companies of flying artillery arrived unexpectedly in the vicinity; having received orders to efcort along the fhore fome gun-boats and other fmall craft, intended to fail with the firft favourable wind from Oftend to Boulogne. A defpotic order immediately put into requifition for the horfes of thefe artillery-men, what the citizens had collected and prepared for their own horfes and cattle; and during a domiciliary vifit, the provifions they had faved for their own wants until next harveft were feized by the commiffary, and confumed by the artillery-men, in fome few days. They were by it fo much reduced to diftrefs, that their mafter was obliged from his private ftock, though at a diftance of eight leagues, to provide for their im-

mediate

mediate neceſſities. It was promiſed, and repeated ſeveral times by the civil and military functionaries, that government would, at a fair valuation, repay every thing; but when the loweſt valuation had been made out, the whole was referred to the war department at Paris, where, with thouſands of other demands, it will be buried and forgotten.

Another gentleman had laſt winter ordered timber of the value of ninety thouſand livres to be cut down, with intent to diſpoſe of what he did not want for his private uſe. The foreſt from which it had been extracted had belonged to his anceſtors for two centuries; nevertheleſs, upon ſome denunciation or other, the whole was ſeized in the name of the government for Buonaparte's flotilla, and he could not even obtain what he abſolutely

ſtood in need of for building ſome out-houſes, but was under the neceſſity to purchaſe from a neighbour what was requiſite. He preſented a petition to Buonaparte, backed by the recommendation of the prefect of the department, but the whole was referred to the adminiſtration of the national foreſts, and he offers to ſell his right to the claim of near four thouſand louis d'ors, for one hundred louis d'ors ready money, ſo certain is he of not meeting with any redreſs or reparation.

From what I heard and noticed during this dinner, I am convinced, that were it poſſible for an Auſtrian army to invade, or only to approach this country, a general inſurrection would be the conſequence; but as this muſt for a long time yet be out of the queſtion, the Flemiſh people will be obliged long to groan under a yoke they

they abhor; and after ſo many torments and vexations of the fathers, perhaps the ſons may be corrupted by French examples, or ſeduced by French allurements, to adopt their inconſiſtency and irregularities; and in half a century hence, retaliate upon Batavians or Germans the ſufferings of their anceſtors.

LETTER LVIII.

Ghent, July, 1804.

MY LORD,

MY dinner yesterday at a respectable and wealthy merchant's house was interrupted by the following disagreeable circumstance:

Here, as well as in Holland, the dinner hour is between two and three o'clock. We had not been at table a quarter of an hour before two invalid soldiers, young maimed conscripts, entered, and said that they were quartered there as *garnisaires*, until the contribution of the last half year had been acquitted, together with what was due to them for their trouble.

All collectors of taxes have been abolished in France since the revolution;

tion; every inhabitant, at prefent, receives a printed and ftamped information from the Director of the contribution what he has to pay, and the laft term, fixed by law, for the payment. The offices of the Directors of Contribution are open every morning at nine o'clock, and fhut at three o'clock in the afternoon; there every body is to bring his dues, or if neglected, is expofed to the confequences and fines. If a houfe keeper, or a lodger in his own furnifhed lodgings, two *garnifaires* are fent to him, and remain with him until he pays the impofts and half-a-crown a day for each of them. As thofe young men are frequently children of relatives or friends of the director, his fecretary or clerks, they endeavour to make their profits as large and as frequent as poffible; and either by not fending any notice at all, or by preventing its arrival, intrude

them upon the moſt regular and wealthy of the community.

This was the caſe with the gentleman with whom I dined. He had never received information of any contributions due by him, nor ſuſpected that any ſuch inſult would have been offered him, as a known perſon of a reſpectable character and of immenſe wealth. The *garniſaires* had however not been five minutes in the houſe before their demand was paid and they were diſcharged.

Among a people where French ingenuity and impoſition are leſs known, ſuch an occurrence might hurt a man's reputation and credit; but here impriſonment and even death, when commanded or executed by Frenchmen, neither injure nor degrade. The rapacity, violence, and injuſtice, of revolutionary governments, being ſo well eſtabliſhed in this country, it is more

honour-

honourable to be perfecuted, than to be overlooked by them.

This adventure occafioned however a long difcuffion concerning the immenfe fums paid in France in extortions and frauds. Twenty thoufand of thefe *garnifaires* are daily employed and in activity all over the French republic. To fupport fo many idlers, how many induftrious perfons muft not be deprived of bread! And by fome few more wife, juft, and neceffary, regulations, how much time, how much trouble, how much chicanery, and how much expence, might be avoided. But thefe evils, like many others, carry their own chaftifement with them. Few families, if not wealthy, occupy whole houfes, or any but furnifhed lodgings. At the period, when contributions are to be acquitted, and the vifits of *garnifaires* are apprehended,

they

they change places, and gain by it at leaſt time, becauſe before they are found out, particularly in large cities or towns, they have opportunity to remove to another ſection, another pariſh, another diſtrict, another municipality, or another department; and ſix or twelve months muſt elapſe before they again give in their declarations or obtain their rules of contributions. This manœuvre is alſo one of the cauſes of the great deficit of the income of the ſtate, which generally, and taken upon a fair calculation exceeds one ſixteenth of what is lawfully payable and would be paid, were the ways of collecting taxes leſs violent and leſs oppreſſive.

A merchant and manufacturer of our party related another act of tyranny and pillage, from which he had ſuffered lately to a great extent. Beſides ſeve-

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ral eftabliſhments here, he has a woollen and cloth manufactory at Ypres. When clothing for twenty thouſand failors was wanted, twelve months ago, he offered to contract with government for the whole upon reaſonable terms. As he fixed his loweſt price, he could not afford to give any douceurs to aides-de-camp, ſecretaries, miſtreſſes, pimps, &c. and he loſt the contract. In the middle of laſt February, an order, ſigned Admiral Bruix, commanded him to deliver clothing for ſeven thouſand Italian ſailors of the flotilla, under pain of military execution. As he was not upon the ſpot, his manager refuſed to comply without permiſſion from his principal, but, twenty-five waggons were at the door, and his magazines were emptied of clothing, not for ſeven thouſand, but for ſeventeen thouſand ſailors. When

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informed of this ſpoliation he went to Boulogne, but without ſeeing Admiral Bruix, was ordered away, if he did not wiſh to be conſidered as a ſpy. He then went to Paris, ſaw the miniſter of the marine department, and petitioned to Buonaparte, but has hitherto no other ſecurity for his property, but the order ſigned Bruix, upon which no man would advance him half a crown; he has therefore been obliged to ſuſpend all future buſineſs at Ypres, and two hundred perſons employed by him there, moſtly fathers of large families, are without bread. If formely ſuch an outrage againſt property had been perpetrated, how clamorous, how violent, would not the outcry have been! but at preſent theſe acts of unlimited deſpotiſm are ſo frequent all over France, that to notice them and relate them would require volumes.

Such

Such are and ſuch muſt always be the conſequences of an inſurrection againſt lawful authority. How can thoſe who invade the prerogative of their prince, be expected to reſpect the rights of their fellow ſubjects?

LETTER

LETTER LIX.

Ghent, July, 1804.

MY LORD,

THIS city, though reckoned, on account of its extent and population, the firſt in Flanders, has no regular theatrical exhibitions. Some ſtrolling French parties perform here during the winter, but as I have been told, they are not much encouraged. Though the French language is generally underſtood, the Flemiſh is moſtly ſpoken, and as the policy of Buonaparte prevents the inhabitants from having a national theatre, they in return avoid frequenting French plays, operas, and concerts.

The ſociety here is more mixed than at Antwerp, and upon the whole much more agreeable. No Frenchmen are invited

invited or received any where except in the houſes of Buonaparte's public functionaries. The ſex here is generally fair, with delicate features, and expreſſive countenances; but they neglect their teeth, and ſome times even their perſons. They look old at an early age, and the bloom of youth and of beauty makes only its appearance to fade away and to moulder.

Females here, as well as in Holland, have the bad and naſty cuſtom of putting their legs upon ſtoves, which produces an artificial heat and a temporary colour on the face, but which, upon the whole, impairs the health, or ruins the conſtitution. Ladies of the firſt claſſes dreſs much like faſhionable French women, but of the lower claſſes perſons of both ſexes reſemble more the inhabitants of Holland than of France. Among theſe, the women are drinking coffee or tea from morning to

to night; and I do not know whether the men do not even ſleep with their pipes in their mouths, ſo fond are they of tobacco.

The manner of living here is, even among the firſt people, more frugal than in Holland. Two courſes and two ſorts of wine conſtitute uſually the whole entertainment. If invited to dinner, you are expected to retire as ſoon as coffee and liquors are ſerved, which they are immediately when the table-cloth is removed. Tea parties aſſemble here a little after five, and ſupper is ſerved up between eight and nine. In the interval, whiſt, ombre, piquet, pharao, and *vingt-et-un*, are played, together with a kind of *Lotto* which reſemble birribi. You do not run the riſk of ruining yourſelf upon any of theſe games.

Though the walks of this city and its vicinity are many and beautiful, they

they are, except on Sundays, deserted by all but by foreigners or strangers. The people here do not like much to show themselves except when dressed, and I believe that they but seldom dress more than once in the week;—on the Sunday. The antiquated colours and stuff of their dresses make me suppose that they often wear the gowns of their grandmothers, only altered and new modelled. A wardrobe so seldom used must last for generations.

Strangers are here introduced to a subscription club, or more properly, a news room, where all the French papers, magazines, and reviews are taken in; but as it is known to be infested with French spies it is not much frequented. The first day I went there, a person, who had the appearance of a countryman, complained highly, in conversing, of the decrease of trade and of population, of the neglect of public

public roads and buildings, and of the ſhameful way in which national domains had been thrown away in Auſtrian Flanders. He aſſured me that half of the manufactories were, for want of capital and ſafety, at a ſtand, and a fourth of the manufacturers ruined; the population was leſs by a fifth, of which two fifths were ſtarving. Although the turnpike taxes had augmented five hundred per cent. not a crown was laid out in keeping the high ways in order, nor even paſſable. With regard to the care of public buildings, every one knew, that the poor preferred to lay and die in the ſtreets, rather than to enter the hoſpitals, where ignorance killed them, or neglect ſtarved them, and where the ſequeſtration and diſperſion of capitals left every thing and every body to periſh. It was notorious, that of what is called national property, the greateſt

part

part had been ſold at one, two, or at the utmoſt three years purchaſe money. Seven eights of the buyers were foreigners and needy adventurers without probity or property, puſhed forward by factions, that their examples might ſeduce or tempt the natives, who have always been very ſcrupulous about acquiſitions, a part of which their religion made them conſider as ſacrilegious, and the other part their loyalty and honour prevented them from deſiring to poſſeſs." Such were nearly the expreſſions he made uſe of, and the *facts* he ſtated. I ſay *facts*, becauſe nobody could deny them to be otherwiſe. On the following morning, when I returned to the club, I found nearly the ſame company, except the countryman, but not a word was ſpoken, and every body looked round as if afraid of his neighbour. Inquiring of a friend the cauſe of this difference of behaviour,

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viour, he replied in a whiſper, "I will tell you by and by." When we had left the houſe, he ſaid, "you remember the perſon who ſpoke ſo imprudently yeſterday; he is a wealthy country farmer and an honeſt man; nevertheleſs he has been arreſted, and is treated, as diſaffected, with a tranſportation to Cayenne. A friend of mine is now buſy to negociate, for a ſum of money, his releaſe and impunity. You may judge from this trait how vigilant Buonaparte's government is, and that his ſpies penetrate every where." I have ſince heard, that with a ſacrifice of ſix thouſand livres, 250*l.* the farmer eſcaped baniſhment, but he was ſentenced to perpetual exile on his eſtate, and under pain of death prohibited to quit his pariſh, without a ſpecial permiſſion of the conſtituted authorities. He too, I am told, twelve

or

or fourteen years ago, ranked among the pretended patriots in arms againſt the Auſtrian government, for which he then ſuffered nothing, but for which Buonaparte has now taken care to puniſh him.

LETTER LX.

Lisle, August, 1804.

MY LORD,

THE ſame troubleſome formalities, with regard to paſſports, were obſerved in leaving as in entering Ghent; and the diligence was ſtopped every two leagues regularly by guard houſes or patroles of gens d'armes, who inſpected our paſſes, and that not always in the moſt polite manner. A merchant from Courtray, and who was returning home, had neglected to ſhew his paſs at the prefecture at Ghent, and was for this trifling error arreſted. The diligence ſtopt to dine at Courtray, and before our dinner was over we ſaw him arrive on foot handcuffed, between two gensd'armes, on horſeback, and though he was reclaimed by the

the municipality, of which he was a member, he could not recover his liberty until the military commander and the police commiſſary had aſſented. The former being abſent on a party of pleaſure, the merchant was ſent to amuſe himſelf in priſon, until his return.

You travel equally cheap and commodious, with regard to the diligence, between Ghent and Liſle, as between Antwerp and Ghent; but the roads, particularly between Courtray and Menin, and between Menin and Liſle, are in ſuch a ſtate, that it is preferable to walk than to ride in a carriage. The high roads both in Auſtrian and French Flanders have been paved ever ſince the reigns and wars of Louis XIV. and were before the revolution in a moſt excellent order; but during the laſt war, the paſſage of artillery, of waggons, &c. broke them entirely up, and

no attempt has yet been made to mend or repair them. The money collected ſince for turnpikes, has been more than ſufficient to now pave them ten times over, if neceſſary; but it has been employed for the ſoldiers; in building gun boats, &c. It is, however, ſaid, that Buonaparte has lately given his prefect orders, to *require* the inhabitants of theſe departments, to imitate the example of thoſe in the ſouthern part of France, and to come forward, and voluntarily and gratuitously undertake the reſtoration of the roads as they were formerly. As this kind of requeſt is a command, under a military government, travellers will probably not have reaſon long to complain on this ſubject.

Among the paſſengers in the diligence was a Turk, who had purchaſed as national property, a church at Bruſſels, which he had transformed into a

cotton

cotton manuafactory. He was the moſt impatient of us all, when we were ſtopped to exhibit our paſſes, but he was well known in this country, and the gensd'armes only laughed at his curſing and ſwearing. More than once he exclaimed, "French liberty, a d——d liberty! I left Turkey to be free in France, and I cannot travel from Bruſſels to Liſle without being interrupted for paſſes a hundred times, while I have paſſed backwards and forwards, for years, between Conſtantinople and Aleppo, and Conſtantinople and Smyrna, and never had a paſs, nor was aſked for a paſs. Frenchmen muſt travel to Turkey to learn how to be free; the Turkiſh liberty is much better than the French; we have no police commiſſaries, no ſpies, no gens d'armes, no military commiſſions, no ſhooting, and no guillotine." "But you have the ſilk ſtring," interrupted

I. "True," ſaid he, "we have the ſilk ſtring, and the ſabre of the Janizaries alſo, but they are the terror only of great folks; while in France the peſtilence of deſpotiſm hovers over all heads, and ſweeps away equally the lord and the peaſant, the general and the ſoldier, the biſhop and the curate, the banker and the cobler." As I obſerved he was very fond of ſpirituous liquors, I ſaid "you muſt own, that in travelling in Turkey you have no liberty to refreſh thus every hour." "I ſhould not have that liberty here either," anſwered he, in a pet, "were not government perſuaded that theſe liquors, in bringing money into its exchequer, poiſons the drinkers. I now drink in deſpair, having loſt the greateſt part of my property, in truſting to the faith of French rulers." He then related, that he had obtained permiſſion, in conſideration of

a douceur

a douceur to the miniſters of the interior and of the marine, to bring into France, during the laſt peace with England, two cargoes of Britiſh goods free from duty. He went to London, purchaſed the goods, put them on board two French ſhips, and failed with them for Havre, the port aſſigned him by the miniſters in their paſſes. He arrived in the Havre road, when in the autumn 1802, Buonaparte was in that town. He ſhewed his paſſes to the cuſtom houſe officers, who carried them to their ſuperior, who ſuppoſed them to be forged and had the Turk arreſted. From his priſon a petition was forwarded to Buonaparte, who reſtored him to liberty, but at the ſame time ordered the confiſcation and exportation of the Engliſh goods. He went to Paris, but was not admitted again into the preſence of the miniſters;

but Chaptal's ſecretary, the very man who had ſeen him pay four thouſand louis d'ors to his maſter for the paſſes, ſaid that he had been impoſed upon by ſome intriguers, who had imitated the miniſter's hand writing. He ſent a petition again to Buonaparte, but though he had bought the protection of his favourite Mameluke, Roſtan, he obtained no redreſs, and returned to Bruſſels, after experiencing, during nine months, a loſs of nine hundred thouſand livres, 38,000 pounds.

Another paſſenger remarked on this ſubject, that it was very probable that the Turk had been impoſed upon by ſome adventurers and ſwindlers, who ſwarm round and in the miniſterial offices at Paris, and thinking that he gave the money to a miniſter, delivered it into the hands of ſome perſon of the above deſcription. He related what

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he knew had happened to a rich merchant of Cologne, whofe bufinefs at Paris was to obtain permiffion to export to the other fide of the Rhine twenty thoufand facks of wheat, which fold then in Germany fifty per cent. higher than in France. An agent, who advertifed in the newfpapers of his influence with government, was employed by the merchant, and it was fettled that he fhould be introduced to the minifter Chaptal, and count him twenty thoufand half crowns for the permiffion he requefted. Not fufpecting any fraud, he paid, as he thought, to the minifter himfelf this fum, and received from his own hand the permiffion. He purchafed the wheat, and a part of it had already paffed the Rhine, when a police commiffary arrefted him, put feals on all his effects, and fent him under efcort to Paris, to anfwer for the forgery

gery of the miniſter's name. He cleared himſelf from this crime, but all the money advanced was loſt. When before the criminal tribunal, he was examined by the miniſter Chaptal, he was convinced that he was not the perſon to whom he had given the money, but that he had been in the hands of ſome ſharpers. The Turk, however, was poſitive, and finiſhed with declaring boldly, that Buonaparte's miniſters themſelves were nothing but a ſet of ſharpers, becauſe he was too much upon his guard to be taken in by any body elſe.

Theſe anecdotes prove that permiſſion may be, and has been, purchaſed to import and export contraband goods, to great loſs of the fair dealers. How highly injurious muſt it be to commerce in general, and how unſafe to individuals in particular, to enter into

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any commercial ſpeculations in a country where bribery, corruption, and favour, alter or prevent the execution of laws and ordinances at pleaſure. It is ſaid that Madame Buonaparte, her ſon, and brothers in law, have made immenſe ſums by ſelling thus their influence.

LETTER LXI.

Lisle, August, 1804.

MY LORD,

I SHOULD advise all travellers, above the lowest class, to inquire after, and lodge in the best inns, all over France. Upon the whole they will find it both the most pleasant and the most cheap. In those inns they have their regular and fixed prices for every thing, and charge always the same, while in the inferior houses they vary their charges according to the manners, country, or supposed strength of the purses of their visitors.

I lodge here in the hotel Fiquet, *ci-devant* hotel de Bourbon, where no ordinary is kept, but where you are served your dinner, in excellent stile for

for half-a-crown a head, not including wine, and every thing elſe in proportion. Its ſituation on the Grand Place, near the town hall and theatre, and the civility and loyalty of the landlord, cauſe this houſe to be much frequented by people of rank and faſhion. During the negociation between France and England, in the ſummer 1797, Lord Malmeſbury and his ſuite occupied the front part of this hotel, and their departure is ſtill ſpoken of with regret. His lordſhip, is ſaid to have given in an able manner, the change to the French ſpies that watched and ſurrounded him during his ſtay, by aſſociating often with the belles of Liſle, ſeemingly occupied with nothing but pleaſure, when his official correſpondence, ſince publiſhed, proves that the honour of his country and the deliverance of Europe muſt have been his principal, if not only ſtudy, even when the

the cup invited or beauty ſmiled or careſſed.

The ſame general Van Damme mentioned in a former letter, is Buonaparte's governor of this city; but during his abſence and command of a diviſion of the army of England, the general of brigade Girard, *dit* Vieux, commands ad interim. As I intended to viſit ſome relations and friends ſerving in the army on the coaſt, I waited upon him to have my paſſport ſigned by him as well as by the prefect Dieudonne, who adviſed me to take this precaution. After ſome few queſtions as to the names and ranks of my acquaintances, and of the time I deſired to paſs with them, he very politely gave me his ſignature, though on that ſame day he had refuſed it to ſeveral others, having ſo ſtrict orders from Buonaparte not to permit any perſon, who was not well known or belonged

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to the military, to approach the encampments.

Possessing some property in the French funds, and having besides, on account of my family, some claims on the French Government, I went to Paris in the autumn 1791, when the loss on assignats alarmed all monied men. The then minister of finances addressed me to the financial committee of the legislative assembly of which the present prefect here, Dieudonne was a member, so that I had in him an old acquaintance, and what was better, and rare in revolutionary times, an acquaintance for whom I had no reason to blush. He had been elected a deputy to the legislative assembly by the department of Vosges, in 1791, and was again chosen by the same department, in 1795, a member of the council of ancients. In 1799, Buonaparte promoted him to a tribune, and this year

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to a prefect, and neverthelefs I look upon him to be, not the flave of the Emperor, but the fervant of France. He certainly is a man of more independent principles than moft of the modern public functionaries in this country.

His falary as a prefect does not exceed twenty four thoufand livres (1000l.) and when I dined with him to day I fat down with forty four other ftrangers, among whom were eleven generals, to a moft fumptuous repaft, and I was told that on account of the vicinity of the camps, he keeps an open table to moft military men of rank, and therefore muft expend many times the amount of his official income. After dinner I converfed with him in a window of his hotel, and brought upon the carpet the dearnefs which fo many troops encamped, quartered, or marching in this part of France muft occafion, and that it re-

quired

quired in confequence a great revenue to live in the ftile as he does. He told me that he kept ftill his falary of a tribune with that of a prefect, and that Buonaparte befides, in confideration of the expences the public functionaries are fubject to in the maritime departments, allows each prefect a certain fum for his private purfe every month. He fpoke highly of Buonaparte's liberality in money matters, and that he never refufed any pecuniary compenfations to thofe with whofe conduct he was pleafed.

I was during this dinner introduced to feveral of the generals, who all invited me to vifit them and *tafte their tent fups* as they faid. They feemed all in great fpirits, and in hopes before the winter *to reduce England to reafon.* Were I to judge by their words, they had no doubt of fuccefs in the attempt of landing one hundred thoufand men

in

in the British islands, but the countenances of many of them contradicted their expressions. Their conversation for the remainder was entirely military and about military matters. They all admired Buonaparte's indefatigable activity, which they said almost surpassed belief. In the camp of Boulogne now, he was the first up and the last in bed, and allowed himself not above half an hour for his meals. I think, however, that some of them who seemed rather fond of their ease, would not be sorry, were he not so often to visit the coast, or when there make his stay so long.

LETTER

LETTER LXII.

Lisle, August, 1804.

MY LORD,

I HAD a letter of credit and recommendation to a very reſpectable merchant here of the name of Le Sage, at whoſe table I met with Brigade-Porteau, the mayor, and Belmas, the biſhop of the dioceſe of Cambray, which includes the department of the north, and of courſe this city.

During my travels in Auſtrian Flanders, I was ſorry to hear, that though the return of the clergy, and the re-opening of the churches for Chriſtian worſhip, had at firſt given a general ſatisfaction, the manner of filling up the fees of the biſhoprics, and of appointing curates, had with the new oath required by Buonaparte's government

ment occaſioned a ſchiſm, and its conſequences were ſeveral afflicting, ſcandalous, and even ſacrilegious ſcenes in the churches, and in the chuch-yards, and divided the faithful into two religious factions, rather than ſects. The one party conſidering ſchiſmatic and intruſive every thing re-eſtabliſhed upon a different footing from what it was before the revolution; the other party approving and ſubmitting to all innovations and changes ſanctioned with the approbation of the Roman pontiff. Theſe antagoniſts, do not, as ſectaries, excommunicate or fulminate maledictions or cenſures on each other; but they write, intrigue, and plot to debauch their reſpective adherents, and by a ſuperior number to get and keep poſſeſſion of the churches and chapels. In many pariſhes Buonaparte's ſoldiers have been obliged to terminate the differences of the truly militant Gallican

church.

church. Some refractory prieſts have been ſhot as diſturbers of the public peace, others have been tranſported as fanatics.

From what I heard the biſhop of Cambray ſay, the ſame diviſions agitate his dioceſe, but as the people are more enlightened and leſs ſuperſtitious than their Gallo-Auſtrian neighbours, they are alſo leſs violent or troubleſome, and he hoped, ſhould Buonaparte once be enabled to engage the Pope to paſs the Alps, and perform the ceremony of his coronation, tranquillity will be reſtored to conſciences.

A gentleman of the dinner party told me that the immorality and known vicious lives of many of the preſent members of the clergy, would for a long time retard the order ſo much wiſhed for; and that government has done wrong, not to exclude from clerical functions, all thoſe who during the revolution

have

have preached infidelity, encouraged rebellion, pronounced profcriptions, or fhared in plunder. He faid that one of the grand vicars of the bifhop of Cambray was one of the moft infamous and profligate among former revolutionifts. He had feen this apoftate prieft many times in the tribune of the Jacobin club of this city, with a red cap on his head, blafpheme his Saviour, and commend the exceffes of thofe of his fellow-citizens, who perfecuted and murdered priefts, whom he called a fet of impoftors or fools. He boafted of the manner in which he, when in the confeffional, feduced innocence, and infpired licentioufnefs and libertinifm. He once faw him even walk at the head of a fet of Jacobin banditti, who went to the town-hall, feized and murdered four clergymen, who were detained there for want of cards of citizenfhip. When the

the people ſee ſuch a villain as this man, whoſe name is (if I remember right) Debiré, kneeling before the croſs of the God he has ſo publicly outraged, and officiating at thoſe altars once demoliſhed and polluted by him and his aſſociates, muſt it not excite both indignation and horror? Could any ſovereign, who deſired the progreſs of infidelity, and the deſtruction of Chriſtianity, act differently, or with more proſpect of ſucceſs, than if he nominated the moſt wicked of men, the intermediate ſervants of Chriſt? Common ſenſe muſt inform even the moſt ignorant, that a juſt God as well as every good man, muſt deteſt guilt, and is diſhonoured by its approach, much more by its ſervices.

M. Belmas, the biſhop of Cambray, looks to be about fifty years of age, is modeſt and rather timid; from what I could learn of his character, he is a worthy

worthy dignitary of the church himſelf, and has been forced to adopt for grand vicars, perſons he as a pious Chriſtian pardons, but whom it is impoſſible he can eſteem; whoſe reformation he may pray for, but with whoſe paſt immorality he cannot be unacquainted. An apoſtle or a prelate of the firſt ages of Chriſtianity, would have ſubmitted to martyrdom ſooner than accept advancement upon condition of ſeeing himſelf ſurrounded with men a diſgrace to all ſtations in life, but totally unworthy to approach the altars as repentant ſinners, much leſs as public functionaries of a Supreme Being.

LETTER LXIII.

Lisle, August, 1804.

MY LORD,

HERE as well in the *ci-devant* Auftrian Flanders, they complain loudly of ftagnation, nay of ruin, of manufactures and of trade. Of forty fix wealthy manufacturers, only fix remain, and of fixty-two capital bankers or merchants, only nine yet continue in bufinefs; all the others have either retired with the remnants of their fortunes, or have been ruined or murdered fince the revolution. There is, according to report, in proportion, the fame decreafe and decay with regard to inferior tradefmen, fhopkeepers and mechanics.

When I inquired what had become of perfons fupported by them, of their

clerks, apprentices, journeymen, porters, &c. I was anſwered, the army has been and ſtill is the reſource and receptacle of misfortune, of diſtreſs, as well as of crime. It ſwallows up, and conſumes every thing; the unfortunate being reduced by unavoidable calamities, or the wretch purſued by laws which he wilfully has infringed.

In place of theſe reſpectable citizens, thus diſperſed, a ſet of adventurers have ſettled themſelves, or rather intruded themſelves in moſt mercantile places, particularly here. They arrive with a ſmall ſum, or with ſome goods, probably ſwindled elſe where, begin to trade, live regularly for ſome months, obtain confidence and diſappear. Should they be diſcovered in other parts of France, and be brought to juſtice, they either with their ill-gotten means purchaſe impunity, or, as in all frauds againſt commerce, the

laws

laws condemn them to ſuch a lenient puniſhment, they are ſo ſoon again let looſe upon ſociety, that their relative impunity encourages others to follow their footſteps. A man who ſpeaks againſt the Emperor, or in favour of the Bourbons, is, according to the height of his imprudence or indiſcretion, either ſhot or tranſported, and no more ſeen or heard of; but a perſon who does not ſteal, but only defrauds his fellow-citizens, even to the amount of thouſands of louis d'ors, cannot be condemned to more than twelve months impriſonment, and hard labour in the houſe of correction. The fruits of his rapine belong to him, and he often ſplaſhes over with mud from the wheels of his chariot thoſe, who wander in rags on foot, and have been reduced by him to beggary.

But if all honeſt trade has diminiſhed, the commerce of proſtitution

M 2 has

has augmented, and in this country harlots are as numerous as the ſoldiers. At preſent every night in the week two theatres are open here, but one may defy any man to point out among five hundred females in each, fifty modeſt women. I was told by the Mayor, that within theſe four months ſix thouſand and twenty-four proſtitutes from Paris, provided with the paſſes and licenſes of the miniſter of police, had arrived here, either to ſettle here, or fix themſelves in ſome other place in the neighbourhood of our armies. I aſked him, whether as a magiſtrate, he had not a right to prevent ſuch colonies of impurity from eſtabliſhing themſelves in this city, or if he could not expel thoſe once domiciliated here, if the infamy or ſcandal of their lives excited diſguſt or produced complaint. "I have no power," replied he, "to hinder any individual born in France from remain-

remaining here as long as they choofe, when they are furnifhed with good paffes. The licenfes which thefe unfortunate women purchafe from the minifter of police, carry befides with them a kind of privilege to exercife their profeffion wherever they judge it moft advantageous. If any of the inhabitants prefer any complaint againft them, I may fend them to what is called the correctional tribunal; but then, if not accufed of robbery, or that any murder or other atrocious crimes have been committed in their dwellings, they are liberated after a warning, and a fmall fine. Were I befides to be too rigorous againft them, I fhould not only fet the whole garrifon againft me, but expofe myfelf to infults from all old as well as young amateurs of this city. Thefe females alfo fpend a great deal of money with our fhopkeepers, mantua-makers, milliners, and

 others,

others, and these would never forgive me, if any severity of mine drove them away. They have also a number of friends and customers among generals and officers attached to Buonaparte's person and court; and I might be deprived of my office, only by incurring their displeasure." I believe the Mayor, Brigade-Porteau, is more fond of preserving his place, than anxious about doing his duty.

I was invited last night to a ball given to her children by a widow lady, a relation of my correspondent. The prefect and several generals were of the party; but if sixteen years ago I had seen such a licentious manner of dancing, and heard such indecent and indelicate language, which here seemed natural, I should have supposed myself in a brothel, and not in a decent house of a respectable mother of a family. I made this remark to Dieudonné, who

who faid laughing, "as you are going to Paris before you leave France, you will confider this ball as an example of modefty, and of modeft behaviour. In advancing towards the interior, you will find the progrefs of vice and corruption gradually augmenting." Obferving a young woman under twenty who addreffed herfelf in rather too familiar a way to three gentlemen near her, I afked whether fhe was not one of the licentiates of the minifter of police? "No fuch thing," anfwered my friend. "She has been married to all three of thefe gentlemen, and is divorced from them, and neither of them is the father of the infant with which fhe is playing." But how could fuch a character be admitted among fo many innocent and virtuous women and girls as are affembled here? "Here, certainly," faid my friend, "are fome females of that defcription you mention,

 but

but I can ſhow you, in an inſtant, a dozen of divorced women, who both before and ſince their marriages have baſtard children, and who have been or are ſtill kept by ſomebody who does not wiſh to expoſe himſelf to the chance of matrimony. Do you judge France as it is from what it formerly was. A revolution in morals and manners is nothing but the natural effects of a religious and political revolution. You muſt ſee and judge by yourſelf; my explanations at preſent would be inſufficient or incomprehenſible. If you return to Brabant this way, you will underſtand me better."

LETTER LXIV.

Dunkirk, August, 1804.

MY LORD,

DILIGENCES are paffing backwards and forwards twice a-day between Lifle, Caffel, St. Omer and Dunkirk. As I obferved that they were generally crowded, I preferred to hire an extra coach, for which I was charged fix French crowns from Lifle to this place, by way of St. Omer.

The fame troubles and ftoppages with regard to paffes, were experienced on this road, as on the road to Flanders, with this addition, that no innkeeper could lodge me at St. Omer, without having a written permiffion from the commander, which a general officer, one of my relations, in the camp, eafily

 pro-

procured me. But then it was another difficulty where to find a bed, all the houfes being filled with military or their friends and vifitors. After fome pains, I was at laft accommodated in Hotel St. Catherine, the beft public houfe in the town.

The day after my arrival I was invited to dine with General Andreoffy, the chief of the ftaff of the divifion of the army of England, encamped at St. Omer, commanded by General Soult. The dinner was ferved up in ftyle, in an elegant and rich Turkifh tent, which, in 1798, he had captured from the Mamelukes in Egypt. We fat down eighteen to table, of whom all were Generals or Colonels, except myfelf. We were ferved three courfes upon highly finifhed plate, a prefent to him from Buonaparte, when in 1802 he went as ambaffador to England.

At

At the beginning of the repaſt, the converſation chiefly turned upon the manœuvres of the troops in the camp, two days before, when they had been reviewed by Buonaparte; but at the deſert, a ſmattering about the politics of England was began by ſome of the party, who blamed the conduct of British rulers in India, and predicted that within ſome few years, a great part of Buonaparte's Army of England would encamp on the coaſt of Malabar or on the banks of the Ganges, inſtead of the borders of the channel. They thought that the French revolution would neceſſarily ſooner or later make the tour of the globe, and that in all parts of the world French troops would be wanted finally to ſettle every thing according to the new order of things. Another General ſaid, that before French armies were encamped ſo far

M 6 from

from home, they muſt not leave behind them America, to rot in ignorance, or endanger Europe by its abſurd and dangerous political and religious fanaticiſm. He aſked whether a more contemptible being could exiſt than an American demagogue, from the United States, preaching in the preſent ſtate of civilization, a perfect equality, or a ſuperſtitious Spaniſh American, condemning to hell to all eternity every people and every perſon not a Roman Catholic? "It is upon the American Continent," ſaid he, "where we are to ſeize all treaſures neceſſary for our expedition to India; even the wealth of Great Britain cannot furniſh us gold and ſilver enough for the expences of tranſporting to Bengal, an army of one or two hundred thouſand men. Maſters of Europe and America, the conqueſts of Aſia and Africa are merely chil-

childrens' play." "But," faid a young General, (La Croix), "we are not yet mafters of Europe"—"But when the conqueft of England is achieved we fhall foon be mafters," feveral voices repeated; "at leaft we will then rule every country in Europe, worth ruling." Not a voice dared to utter, (though I believe many were inclined fo to do) any doubt with regard to the enterprife againft England, upon the fuccefs of which were founded all their fchemes of pillage and ravages of other parts of the world.

During the whole dinner Andreoffy was very attentive, but very referved, he hardly fpoke any thing except in anfwers to queftions made him. He was even upon his guard to exprefs with his looks, any approbation or difapprobation of what occurred in the converfation. Being placed on his left

hand,

hand, I ſaid rather in a low tone of voice, as you General, have been ſome time officially in England, what is your opinion of the general character of the iſlanders. "My ſtay was too ſhort," replied he, "to make any but ſuperficial remarks, but as far as I remarked, the Engliſh are a patriotic and brave people." General Sahuget then aſked him what could cauſe the great differences between the valour of the Engliſh navy and army, and that the former were uſually victorious, while the latter were almoſt always routed?"— "The Engliſh land forces were not routed in Egypt," anſwered Andreoſſy, "and no where elſe during late wars, have they been ſufficiently ſtrong not to be obliged to depend upon the co-operation of allies. Though I do not like the Engliſh, and deteſt the politics of their government, I do not deſpiſe them." We ſhall have ſoon an oppor-

tunity

tunity of trying their courage," ſeveral generals exclaimed, with a ſneer; in the mean time, interrupted General St. Hilaire, let us drink a bumper to the deſtruction of the tyrants of the ſeas! a toaſt that was drank with univerſal enthuſiaſm.

Here ſomebody mentioned, that it was time to go to the play, and the merits and defects of the actreſſes, were immediately diſcuſſed, with the ſame volubility and preſumption, as the conqueſts of the globe had been planed an inſtant before.

I accompanied ſome of the officers to the theatre in the camp. Theſe ſame indifferent performers repreſented the Marriage of Figaro, with an after-piece, wherein the Lord Mayor of London offers Buonaparte the keys of that city. Such a farago of abſurdity, groſſneſs, and groſs flattery, I have never before ſeen upon any ſtage all over Europe,

rope, where I have travelled. It was neverthelefs much applauded. The houfe was crowded with military, who pay only half-price, though even full price was cheap, if the performers had been above mediocrity. I paid only thirty fous, (fifteen pence,) for a place in the boxes, and tickets for the pit were bought for twelve fous, (fix pence). At the theatre in the town of St. Omer, I was told, that the acting was ftill worfe, and the prices ftill lower. After the play we adjourned to a coffee-houfe, where feveral gambling-tables were kept, and large fums won or loft, upon *Rouge et Noir, Birribi* and *la Roulette.* The bankers were from Paris, and privileged by the minifter of police Fouché. It is aftonifhing that Buonaparte permits fuch organifed plunder of his officers and men. I heard that no lefs than ten gambling-houfes, or rather gambling tents, were open

open daily in this camp; and that from the ſmallneſs of the ſums ſuffered to be riſked, the drummer has an opportunity to ruin himſelf, as well as the general.

LETTER

LETTER LXV.

Dunkirk, August, 1804.

MY LORD,

WHEN I was here ſome years ago, I lodged at what was then thought the beſt inn, Hotel de Morel, but it was now full, and I was glad to find an apartment in the public houſe called *Le Chapeau Rouge*, or the Cardinal's Hat, chiefly frequented by riders. I have found hitherto the accommodation much better than could be expected, and the prices exceedingly reaſonable. For a dinner of two courſes with deſert, and a pint of good wine, (I always preferred port wine, which was here in abundance, on account of ſeveral Engliſh captures) I was only charged forty ſous or twenty pence, and before the encampments round here,

here, I heard that it was ſtill twenty-five per cent. cheaper.

Here, as well as at St. Omer, every ſtranger muſt have permiſſion from the governor to reſide, before any landlord dares lodge him. Theſe permiſſions are ſeldom granted for more than forty-eight hours, and muſt then be renewed; to avoid dancing too frequent attendance at the government houſe. I aſked a former acquaintance, General Mathieu Dumas, to accompany me to the Governor, the general of brigade, Sibeau, who without difficulty acceded to my requeſt of remaining here undiſturbed for a fortnight.

Dumas is one of the firſt theoretical military characters of France, and is the chief of the ſtaff of the diviſions of the Army of England, encamped from hence to the Batavian frontiers. He ſerved during the American war, as an officer of the ſtaff of the army com-

manded

manded by general Rochambeau, and had, at the beginning of the revolution, the rank of Colonel. He was then a ſtrong adherent of La Fayette's, and a ſupporter of the rights of man; in return he was by the revolutionary miniſters, promoted to a Marechal de Camp. It was he who was among the firſt to inſult ſo cruelly, Louis XVI. and his family, when on their return from the unfortunate journey to Varennes, in June 1791, and who was ſent by the National Aſſembly to prevent the royaliſts of Lorain and Alſace from riſing to avenge the outrages offered their King. The ſame year he was elected a member of the Legiſlative Aſſembly; but at its diſſolution in September 1792, his popularity was loſt, and it was only by burying himſelf in obſcurity, that he eſcaped from being involved in the ruin of that throne, which he and his partiſans were the

firſt

firſt to attack and to undermine. In 1796, he was choſen a deputy of the Council of Ancients, and was in September 1797, included in that proſcription which ſent Pichegru and other loyal men to Cayenne. He eſcaped, however, to the North of Germany, where in 1799 he publiſhed the beſt military memoirs of that part of the revolutionary war, that have been printed on the Continent. In 1800, Buonaparte recalled him, made him a counſellor of ſtate of the military ſection, and employed him as a Quarter-maſter General of the French army in Switzerland. He is now a great favourite with the Emperor of the French, but though above three-ſcore years of age, he cannot hear any body mention "the rights of man! liberty and equality!" without bluſhing, either for himſelf or for his new ſovereign.

Except perſons attached to the

army or navy, here are but few ſtrangers. In the harbour only ſix neutral flags are ſeen, and upon the exchange hardly any buſineſs whatever is done or tranſacted. I was informed by a neutral conſul, that the ſale and diſpoſal of the cargoes of three Engliſh prizes, have in fact been the only commercial affairs ſettled or ſpoken of upon the exchange for theſe ſix months paſt. Even the commerce with the interior has ceaſed, on account of the want of capitals and of confidence, and a want of importations from the exterior or abroad. Of the manufacturers, formerly eſtabliſhed here by ſcores, only two continue to employ ſome few dozens of workmen.

Of theſe, one is an Engliſhman born at or near Mancheſter, of the name of Mather. A bankrupt in his own country, he came over here, an ardent patriot, and an enthuſiaſtic admirer of the

French

French revolution. He bought national property, ſet up a cotton manufactory, frequented the jacobin club, and fraternized moſt cordially with thoſe French ſansculottes, who in the autumn 1793 repulſed, deſtroyed and plundered his countrymen under the command of the Duke of York. His patriotic zeal is now ſaid to be ſome what cooled, and his former property much diminiſhed; he feels ſenſibly the great difference between being a ſubject of the King of Great Britain and of an Emperor of the French, and of enjoying the protection of Engliſh and French commercial laws and regulations. More than once, has he been expoſed to domiciliary viſits, to requiſitions, confiſcations, and impriſonment, and if he *dared* to ſpeak here as he once did in his own country, he would make a public *amende honorable*, acknowledge his paſt folly, curſe the

day

day he ſet his feet on French ground, and admoniſh foreigners rather to prefer even certain death at home to continual oppreſſion and inceſſant torment in France.

Among the *many* national eſtates he purchaſed, was alſo the houſe of the *ci-devant* Governor of this place; he bought in the ſpring 1796, and paid for it in mandats, a paper money, then ordered by law to have the ſame currency, and to be taken at par with ſilver and gold. During the ſummer of the ſame year, a relation of the director Reubel was appointed a governor here, and thought this houſe neceſſary to keep up the dignity of his office. A decree of the Directory immediately annulled the ſale, and ordered the money to be reſtored to citizen Mather; but at that time the mandats had loſt eighty per cent. a difference not regarded by revolutionary rulers;

and

and by this ſpeculation alone, citizen Mather loſt eighty per cent. of his capital inveſted? Numbers of other ſtrangers and foreigners, buyers of national eſtates, have been ſtill worſe uſed; their improvements or reparations been diſregarded and counted for nothing, when their aſſignats or mandats were returned them, frequently with a loſs of ſeveral hundreds per cent.

LETTER LXVI.

Dunkirk, August, 1804.

MY LORD,

I TOOK a ride this morning with General Dumas, on a viſit to the different encampments, in a circle of four leagues round this town. I counted, if I remember rightly, about twelve or fourteen ſeparate camps, each ſeeming to me to contain about four or five thouſand men. Inſtead of tents, it has become the faſhion to build huts, where both officers and ſoldiers are lodged. This may be convenient enough during this time of the year; but, during the autumn, winter and ſpring, when a great part of this country, on account of its lowneſs and unhealthineſs, is expoſed to inundations and feveriſh complaints; they will either

they be forced to remove, or ſuffer from the effects of their preſent ſituations.

The general appearance of the men is far from bearing evidence of health or comfort. Their uniforms, at leaſt thoſe of the infantry, are worn out, ſome are made of changed colours, and ſome even in rags. Their arms are not in better ſtate than their regimentals, and little notice was taken of their neglect, by the officers. They were not even all of the ſame model, which upon my remark to Dumas, he ſaid was occaſioned by the arming ſo many conſcripts with the accoutrements of the *ci-devant* national guards; but that before the winter, this evil would be remedied, government having contracted on this account, with the manufacturers of arms in the country of Liege.

What I liked beſt was the riding, or

as it is called here, the flying artillery. It manœuvred before us with adroitneſs, and ſwiftneſs, to which neither the Auſtrians nor the Pruſſians can come up. This corps has been doubled ſince the preſent war, and is placed all along the coaſt, at certain diſtances from Breſt to Antwerp, for the protection of our armed ſmall crafts, failing to their different points of rendezvous, and to prevent Britiſh cruizers from debarking emiſſaries or marauding parties.

The park of artillery was placed about a league's diſtance from hence; it is relatively ſmall, and contains no heavier metal than long eighteen pounders; but I heard that in the arſenal here are many pieces ſufficient even to undertake a ſiege; the guns on board the praams, and other of the large veſſels of Buonaparte's armada, are alſo of a large calibre, and have ſepa-

rate

rate carriages, ſo as to be uſed by land as well as at ſea with the ſame efficacy.

The cavalry, the light dragoons, and the riflemen on horſeback, are all indifferently mounted, though twenty thouſand horſes have been brought here from Hanover and other parts of Germany. The men are however, better dreſſed and accoutred than thoſe of the infantry, and are alſo more regularly paid. The horſes of the huſſars, as well as thoſe of the flying artillery, are excellent and ſelect.

We dined with General Oudinot, whoſe diviſion has lately been removed from the vicinity of Oſtend, to augment the number of troops concentrated round this town. This officer is the baſtard ſon of the proprietor of a theatre on the Boulevards at Paris, ſtill called "Theatre d'Oudinot." His mother was the daughter of a waſher-

 woman,

woman, and an inferior actress on this same theatre. He was born 1765, and enlisted in 1781 as a dragoon in the first regiment, known by the name of Medoc. The revolution advanced him to an officer, afterwards to the command of a battalion of national guards, and in 1793 to a general. He distinguished himself in several engagements with the Prussians and Austrians, and was dangerously wounded in the head in December 1793, near Hageneau. During the campaign of 1795, he commanded the advance guard of the army under Pichegru, was repulsed by the Austrians and forced to shut himself up at Manheim, where he was besieged and obliged to surrender. He served afterwards under Moreau in Germany, and Massena in Switzerland, but never under Buonaparte, before the day of the battle of Marengo. He has seen a great deal of service, is

a brave

a brave officer to head a divifion, but, as I was informed, has not talents to command an army. He is much liked by the foldiers, becaufe he fhares in all their troubles and pleafures. He fleeps with them when neceffary, uncovered upon the ground, drinks brandy, fmokes tobacco, and with them is ftill as when he was only a dragoon. Even in doing the honours of his table, and when the prefence of ftrangers made him defirous to affume the manners and language of his prefent rank, the upftart-foldier and the officer of fortune difplayed themfelves every inftant; but as his foldier-like franknefs, or rather roughnefs, is not difagreeable or hurtful to thofe accuftomed to the fociety of military men, were he lefs affected and more natural, he would pleafe more, and place thofe about him more at their eafe.

Either from policy or from igno-

 rance,

rance, he mentioned the conqueſt of England as a mere promenade; and repeated even to diſguſt, "land me but with twenty five thouſand French grenadiers, and I will take upon me to plant the tri-coloured flag on the Tower of London." Among his aides-de-camp is a lady, who has the rank of a lieutenant-colonel, who has made with him all his campaigns, who has had by him three children, and who can drink and ſwear as well as himſelf. She was upon duty during the dinner, but joined us at the deſſert; ſhe made her report as accurately and minutely as any male aide-de-camp poſſibly could do.

LETTER

LETTER LXVII.

Dunkirk, September, 1804.

MY LORD,

I EXPECTED to have an opportunity of being presented to Buonaparte, during his short visit here, previously to his journey to Brabant and to the Banks of the Rhine; but was, with several other strangers disappointed. He refused admittance on account of want of time; but as some generals have hinted to me, his suite with him was not numerous enough or imposing enough, for a ceremony of presentation to an Emperor of the French. I saw him, however, for above an hour on the harbour, inspecting some Batavian armed vessels and gun-boats, that avoided the pursuit of British cruizers, by escaping

 hither

hither from Oſtend. They manœuvred before him with a great deal of preciſion at the mouth of the harbour; but he ſaid loud enough to be heard by all near him, that the part of his flotilla already collected at Boulogne, had more experience, and acted with more union and preciſion. Something muſt have diſpleaſed him here, or juſt before his arrival at this place, for he was in an ill-humour, and harſh in his anſwers and expreſſions to all who ſpoke to him, or to whom he addreſſed himſelf.

According to the invitation of the ſub-prefect here, Schadet, the inhabitants had prepared a fête and a ball for Bonaparte, in the town hall; but when informed of it, he ſaid abruptly, without acknowledging their good intent, "it was unneceſſary, I do not ſtay." His generals and officers were more complaiſant. They came there

in

in ſuch a number, as to exclude all the citizens, and to prevent many ladies who were invited, from being preſent. From want of room, the dancing was both interrupted and ſhortened, and during the ſupper the greateſt confuſion reigned; nobody who choſe not to fight or puſh his way to the table, could get a morſel. The gallantry of the Imperial officers was not ſo great, as that of the Royal officers was formerly; the former took care of themſelves, as if no ladies had been preſent, while the latter would certainly never have thought of themſelves, as long as a ſingle lady was unhelped or not provided for.

By the gentleman who invited me, I was told, that the ball would not be over before four or five o'clock the next morning; but a little after midnight all dancing ceaſed, and the muſicians retired. Then another ſcene

opened. Some officers having propofed gambling, cards were inftantly fent for, and a bank laid and kept by the governor, General Sibeau: and I left the party, fome ladies included, at two o'clock, gambling with more attention, and I believe with more pleafure, than they had been dancing.

Under the fuppofition, that Buonaparte would honour them with his company or prefence, a throne had been erected and decorated in the large hall, where alfo a table had been placed with ten covers, the number of perfons it was believed that he would admit to fit down with him. To ferve this table in ftyle and with plate, filver difhes, &c. had been borrowed from all thofe who had any to lend. In the confufion that the crowd occafioned, the plate was forgotten by the fervants, (or perhaps ftolen by them,) and the greater part of it difappeared. The

owners

owners of the plate have ſince ſummoned the maſters of the ceremonies, two reſpectable merchants, and the director, the ſub-prefect, before a juſtice of peace, to return them their loſt property. A ſubſcription has, however, been ſet on foot to indemnify the loſers, but from the amount of their claims, and from the trifling ſums ſubſcribed, their *indemnities* are not likely to prove ſo expeditious, as thoſe, beſtowed by their ſovereign on German princes.

Though Bonaparte arrived here *incognito*, he ſuffered an Imperial ſalute to receive him, and to announce his departure. Not only the artillery on the ramparts, and on the forts of the harbour, but the guns of the flotilla were fired on this occaſion. He has an idea, and perhaps a juſt one, that the more noiſe you make, and the more pageantry you diſplay among this fickle and unprincipled people, the more

they

they respect you, or (what he likes better,) the more they dread you. I am told, that once, when the conversation was about the untimely end of Louis XVI. (which improbable as it may be thought, he always seems to deplore), he said, "had Louis XVI. caused himself to be feared, instead of studying how to be beloved, he might still have reigned. In France, terror alone can prevent crowns and sceptres from being broken and crushed."

LETTER

LETTER LXVIII.

Calais, September, 1804.

MY LORD,

IN approaching Boulogne I obſerve that the reſtrictions againſt travellers increaſe. By piquets placed on the road between Dunkirk and this place, my poſtilions were frequently forced to turn out of the high way, and travel upon croſs roads, that I might have no opportunity of noting ſome flying camps, placed here and there to keep up a line of communication with the diviſions along the coaſt, and the army of St. Omer. In entering this town, though my paſſport was demanded and regiſtered at the gate, the poſtillion was ordered to drive firſt to the office of the commiſſary general of the police, and then to the hotel of the

the governor, before I could be ſet down at the inn. During the whole time of theſe troubleſome trips my chaiſe was eſcorted by ſoldiers, and my perſon watched.

I have, during my travels, often had the misfortune to deal with men of impertinent and brutal behaviour, but I have never before converſed with ſuch an inſupportable and inſolent fellow, as the police commiſſary here, whoſe name is Mengaud. He unites in his perſon every thing that can make authority odious, and the vulgarity of his manners correſponds perfectly with his language. Nature deſtined him to be nothing but a gaoler or an executioner, to viſit dungeons, inflict torments, conſtruct racks, or erect ſcaffolds.

Before the revolution, his relations procured him a place in the guards of Monſieur, the preſent Louis XVIII.

but

but he was ſoon turned out, as nobody would ſerve with him. At the beginning of the revolution, driven from all honeſt ſociety, hated by all good men, he took refuge in that den of infamy and crime, the Jacobin Club, and became ſhortly one of its heroes. During the reign of Robeſpierre, he was preſident of a revolutionary committee, and as ſuch, denounced, impriſoned, and butchered. Arreſted in his turn, after the death of this tyrant, he was releaſed by Buonaparte's patron, Barras, and appointed miniſter to Switzerland, where his treachery was as great as his cruelty; where his negociations and duplicity diſarmed thoſe victims whom his barbarity had marked for ruin and deſtruction. His conduct was ſo outrageous, that even the revolutionary rulers of that time, the directors, were obliged to recall and diſgrace him, a trifling puniſhment for ſo many

enormities.

enormities. In 1800 Buonaparte again introduced him upon the revolutionary ſcene, as his commiſſary of police in this town, where, during the laſt peace, his preſence alone did more harm to the inhabitants, than all Buonaparte's vexatious laws and ordinances, becauſe it frightened away numbers of travellers. All thoſe who once had to do with Mengaud took care to avoid him a ſecond time.

It was before ſuch a man I was carried, as a kind of priſoner, to exhibit my paſſport. I ſhall try to relate as near as poſſible, his queſtions and my anſwers; his provocation and my patience; his brutality and my moderation. Speculations amuſe, but facts prove. What muſt be the morality and civilization of an empire, where ſuch men are neceſſary, and employed as public functionaries?

"Your paſſport, Sir?"

"Here

"Here it is."

"You are a Belgian?"

"I am."

"You lie."

"My paffport proves that I do not."

"It is not yours; you have ftolen it, or you have bought it."

"I do not know what to anfwer to expreffions I am unaccuftomed to hear."

"You are an Englifhman, your looks betray you."

"My paffport tells you who I am better than my looks."

"With Englifh gold fuch paffports are eafily procured. I will fwear that you are an emiffary of Pitt."

"Then you will perjure yourfelf."

"What is your bufinefs here?"

"To vifit fome relatives and friends I have not feen for fome years."

"To confpire with your accomplices, I dare fay. Ah! were I the Emperor

peror of the French, ſuch ſuſpicious travellers as you ſhould be ſhot, without a trial, on the other ſide of the gate."

"What makes you ſuſpect me, Sir?"

"Your looks, your haughtineſs, your chaiſe, your luggage, and your ſervant, all evince that you are an enemy of the revolution and of France. I have a good mind to ſend you to priſon."

"Do as you pleaſe; but act ſo as you can anſwer for to your ſuperiors."

"My ſuperiors, Sir! my ſuperiors, Sir! I have none here; I acknowledge no other any where elſe but his majeſty the emperor, and his excellency the miniſter of police. But I ſhall ſoon catch you: who are the relatives and friends you are going to viſit here?"

"Here I have nobody to viſit, but at Boulogne I have ſeveral."

"You contradict yourſelf, Sir; you ſaid

ſaid juſt now that your relatives and friends were here, now you ſay that they are at Boulogne, when at Boulogne, you will ſay that they are at Montreuil, and when there, that they are at Amiens, Paris, and any where, to be enabled to ſee every thing and to ſerve your Engliſh employers. But I ſhall ſhorten your journey. Under pain of being arreſted as a ſpy, mention the names, places of reſidence, and rank of thoſe you call your relatives and friends."

"The generals of diviſion ———, and ———, and the Colonel ——— are my relatives; and I have from twelve to twenty years acquaintance with ſome other generals and officers, (whoſe names I mentioned,) they are all encamped at or near Boulogne."

"You a relative to them! you acquainted with them! I cannot believe it. I know moſt of them, they are

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all ſtaunch republicans; I MEAN firm friends of the revolution and of Buonaparte. I fear that I muſt detain you until they own you, if you can ſhew me no letters from any of them."

"Sir, if you will let my ſervant fetch my port-folio from the chaiſe, you ſhall ſoon be convinced in what an illiberal and ungentlemanlike manner you have acted with me."

When Mengaud had peruſed two of the letters, his tone altered, and he declared himſelf ſorry he had uſed ſome harſh expreſſions; "but remember, Sir," ſaid he, "that but lately a Pruſſian baron, Bulow, was ſhot as a ſpy at Oſtend; and we other public functionaries cannot be too much upon our guard. Now, Sir, I ſhall ſign your paſſport, and you may remain here as long as agreeable. I hope that you will dine with me to-morrow?"

"No,

"No, Sir," replied I, "neither to-morrow, nor any other day, as I am engaged during the whole time I intend to ſtay here."

LETTER

LETTER LXIX.

Calais, September, 1804.

MY LORD,

FROM Mengaud's office I was brought to the hotel of the governor. At my entry an aide-de-camp told me to ſit down, as the governor was taking a nap after dinner. Having waited above half an hour, I inquired of this officer whether his maſter's naps were very long, as I had not yet dined. He replied, that within an hour my buſineſs would be done, and that I muſt have patience.

The name of this governor is Barbazon; he is a general of brigade, and an officer of the legion of honour. Before the revolution, a clerk to a retail dealer in tobacco and ſnuff, he ran away with his maſter's property, enliſted

in

in the regiment of Flanders, and from it deserted over to the Parisian national guards. La Fayette made him an officer, Marat a captain, Robespierre a mayor, Barras a colonel, and Buonaparte a general. Since the reign of equality is out of fashion, he has discovered that he is descendant from some Counts of Barbazon, who, three hundred years ago, were wealthy and popular in the south of France. The fact is, that his father was a voiturin, and that he, in his youth, was himself a mule driver. But since he entered upon the military stage as an officer, he has conducted himself with courage and ability; he has shewn talents, but has perpetrated no atrocities.

He behaved to me with great politeness, and when I told him in what way and language I had been received and detained by Mengaud, he said, "that fanatic is a despicable wretch, and

 after

after much trouble, and many repre-ſentations of the inhabitants of this town, I have to day been officially in-formed that he is diſmiſſed and ſuc-ceeded by a gentleman of the name of Divilliers, reſpectable in his character. and agreeable in his manners." He ſigned my paſſport, while telling me, that if I deſired to make any excur-ſions in the country he would accom-pany me, and ſhow me the different encampments in this neighbourhood.

I went to lodge in the *ci-devant* Ho-tel Deſcune, which is now kept by two of his nephews; I found the apartments better furniſhed, and the accommoda-tion otherwiſe good and cheap.

I was told by the preſent proprietors, that the laſt lodger their uncle had in his houſe, and ſettled with, was the unfortunate Governor Wall. He had, during the laſt war, reſided with him, upon the whole near four years, and

though

though he poſſeſſed property at Chantilly, nine leagues from Paris, he came here only to get a ſight of England, for whoſe proſperity were his good wiſhes expreſſed, and his toaſts given. During the laſt five months he had reſided in this hotel, he had, to the knowledge of Deſcune, expended thirty thouſand livres, 1250*l.* for his ſuffering and diſtreſſed countrymen.

END OF VOL. II.

C. Roworth, Printer, Bell Yard, Temple Bar.